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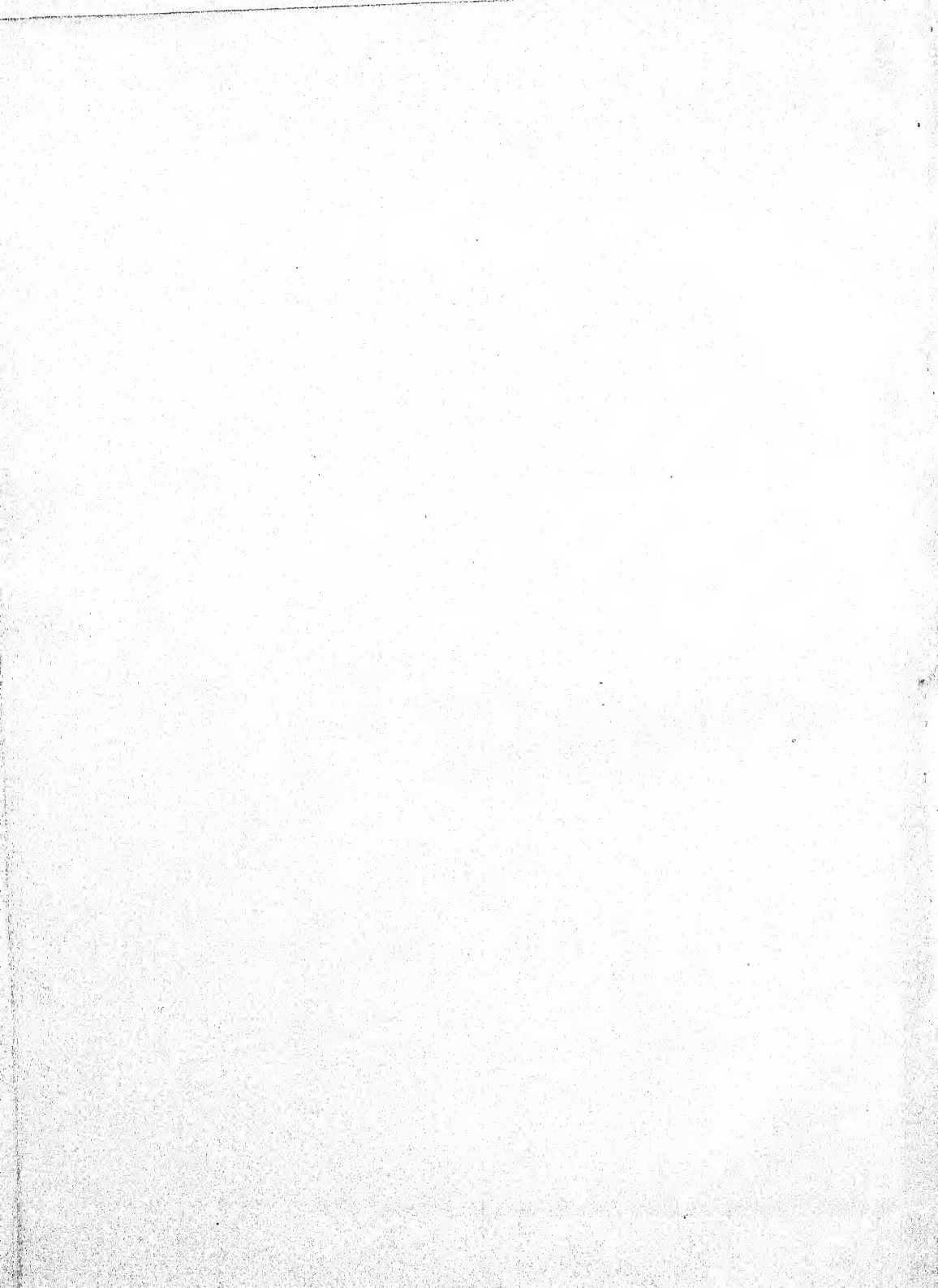
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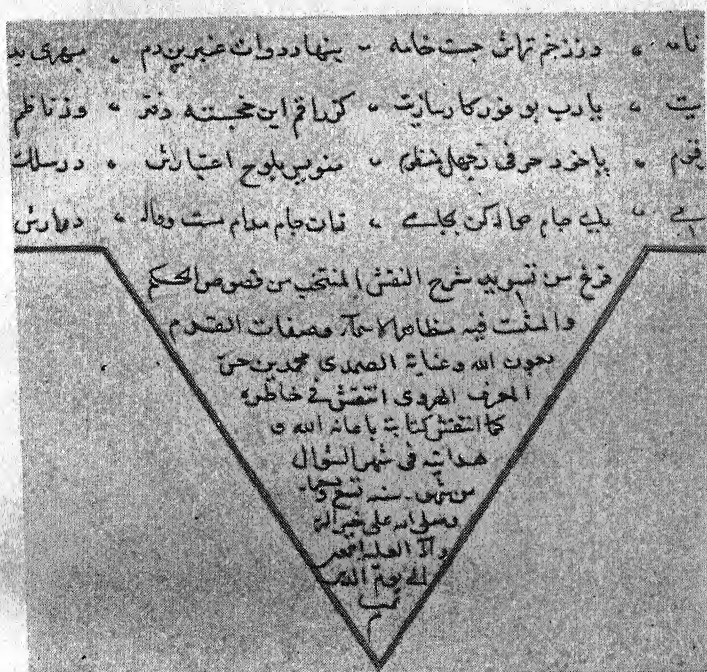


Fig. 3.—Colophon on p. 1102 of the Bombay copy. Slightly less than actual size (73 : 80).

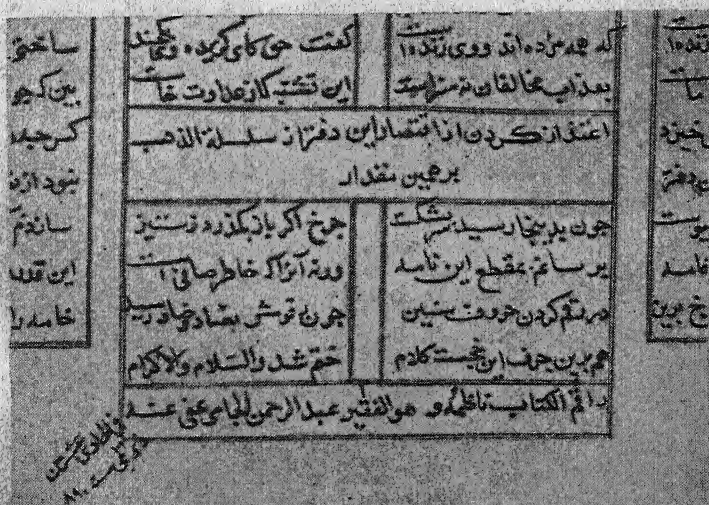
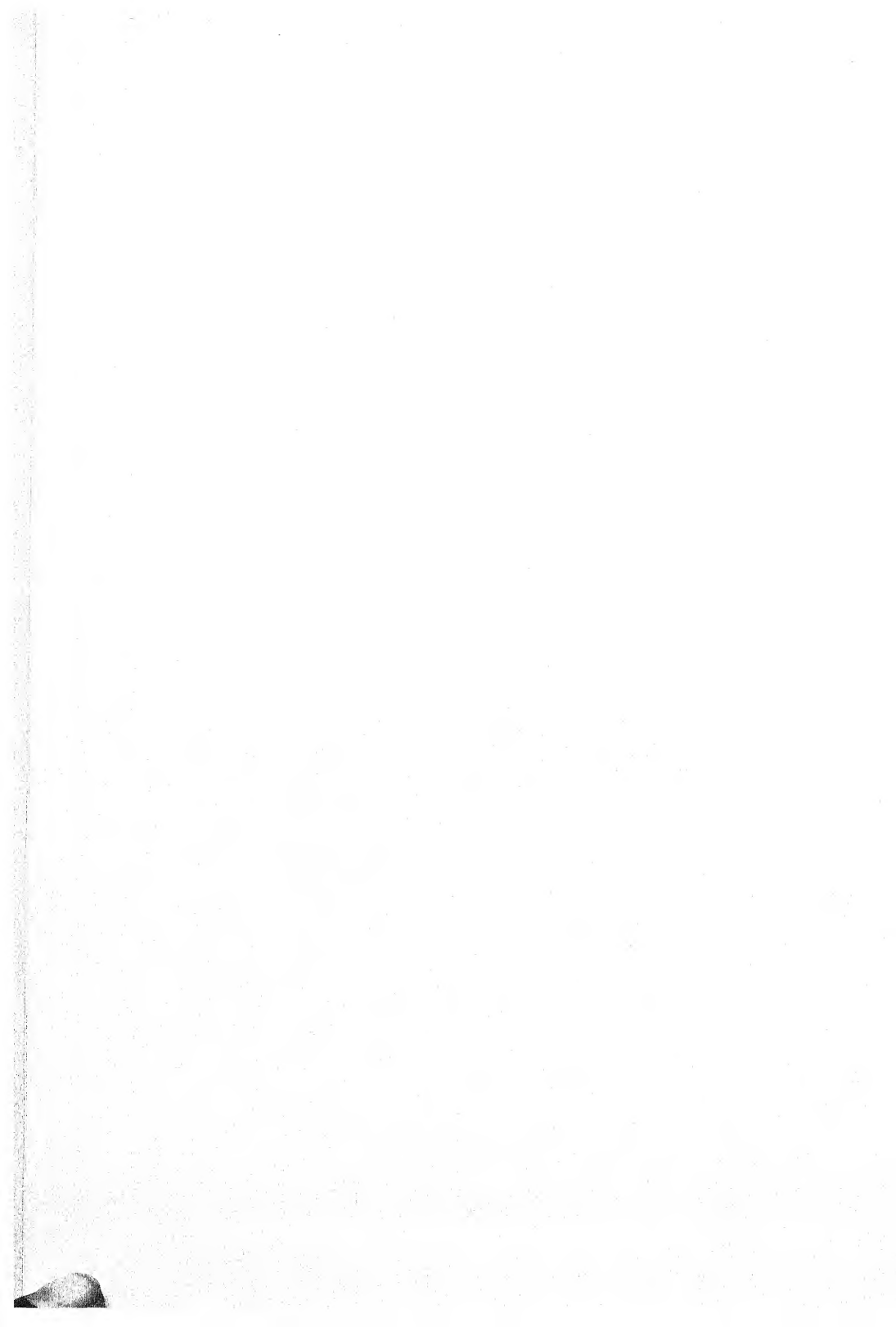


Fig. 4.—Petersburg copy. Portion of Plate I in V. Rosen's Catalogue. Reduced (65 : 83).



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GENUINENESS OF JAMI'S AUTOGRAPHS

By W. IVANOW

I

For a long time there was known only one autograph copy of several poetical works by the great Persian poet, Nūru'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Kharjirdī Jāmī (born the 23rd Sha'bān 817 A. H. = the 7th Nov. 1414; died the 18th Muḥarram 898 A. H. = the 9th Nov. 1492). It belonged to the library of the special School of Oriental languages attached to the Foreign Office of Russia, at St. Petersburg.¹ Later on another, supposed to be an autograph copy, came to light in the Bankipur Public Library, Patna. And just recently another one was acquired in Bombay by the well-known businessman and promoter of Islamic studies, Mr. A. M. Mecklai, who kindly lent the volume to the author of this note for examination.²

The St. Petersburg copy is a large volume of 714 pages (33 by 24 cm., 31 lines to a page). It contains only the poetical works of Jami, i.e. his *mathnawīs*, and his *diwāns*. The copy was fully

¹ Now, as I hear, the collection is deposited in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

² The late Prof. E. G. Browne in the third vol. of his *Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1920, p. 543) refers to a Constantinople printed edition of the first *Diwān* (1284/1868) which is said to be based on an autograph copy. Its whereabouts, however, remained unknown to him.

described by the late Prof. Baron Victor Rosen, who devoted to it 45 pages in his Catalogue, "Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Part III. Manuscrits Persans" (St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 215-259). He gives also, on two separate plates, facsimile reproductions of specimens of the handwriting.¹ The latter, except only for three pages, is uniform in the volume. On p. 96, at the end of the second *daftar* of the poem *Silsilat-i dh-dhahab* there is a line (see fig. 4) in which Jami calls himself "*rāqim-i l-kitāb nāẓim-u-hu*"; this surely cannot mean anything else but that the copy was transcribed by himself.

The second known copy, that of Bankipur, is much smaller. It is a volume of 492 pages, roughly of royal octavo size (25 by 17 cm.), 25 lines to a page. It contains only an early version of his *Dīwān*, and the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat-i dh-dhahab*. The fact that the volume is Jami's autograph is established in the "Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore" (Calcutta, 1910, pp. 67-71) from the appearance, on the first leaf of the MS, of a note giving the date of the birth of Jami's son, *Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn Yūsuf*, on the night of the 9th Shawwāl 882 A. H. (Tuesday the 14th January, 1478). At its end Jami calls himself "*wa'l-kātib abū-hu al-faqīr.....al-Jāmī*". The cataloguer tells us that the handwriting in the note and in the bulk of the book is identical (cf. fig. 1).

The copy recently acquired in Bombay comes from Afghanistan. It bears no seals of its former owners, except for that of one Sayyid Muḥammad Amīn, in 1286/1869, whose note and seals appear on p. 585. Other seals are all obliterated. It is a huge volume of 1144 folio pages, 32 by 22 cm., 27 lines to a page, the poetry being written in four columns. It is a kind of a "de luxe" copy, with blue and gold *jadwal* lines accurately drawn, and with 28 excellent vignettes (*sar-lawḥ*), some of which are still in a good state of preservation. All headings are apparently written by a different hand; if there are several of them on a page, they are alternately written in gold, blue, red, and dark red-brown inks. In fact, it is a

¹ The lower portion of the first plate is reproduced in E. G. Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. III, facing page 508. The size is slightly reduced, and therefore the letters appear smaller.

typical specimen of a good MS copy transcribed by a professional copyist in the style of the beginning of the X/XVth c.

The handwriting seems to be one and the same all through the copy, except for pages 120-122, and 1104-1144, which are by a different scribe, possessing a more elegant hand, resembling that of the headings all through the copy. It may be noted, however, that the paper and the handwriting indicate slight differences. The paper on which the prose works are copied is slightly different from the paper of the poetical portions. It seems as if originally the copy formed two or more separate volumes which later on were combined in binding into one. Slight difference in handwriting of one and the same copyist is quite normal in all MSS. In prose works the handwriting may remain natural, while in poetry the scribe has continually to modify it, adapting it to the length of lines which is uniform for the whole copy, regardless of the fact that some verses are longer, and others shorter.

The volume contains 26 works by Jami, of which the last three are incomplete :

1. (p. 1) *Risāla dar 'arūḍ.*
2. (p. 13) *Risāla'i qāfiya.*
3. (p. 17) *Risāla'i mūsīqī.*
4. (p. 35) *Risāla'i munsha'āt.*
5. (p. 69) *Risāla'i kabīr dar mu'ammā.*
6. (p. 105) *Risāla'i ṣaghīr dar mu'ammā.*
7. (p. 121) *Risāla'i manzūma dar mu'ammā.*
8. (p. 125) *Silsilat al-dh-dhakab. Daftar I.*
- (p. 201) " " " II.
- (p. 233) " " " III.
9. (p. 257) *Dīwāni Awwal. Qaṣā'id.*
- (p. 293) " " Other poems.
10. (p. 455) *Dīwāni Thānī.*
11. (p. 543) *Dīwāni Thālith.*
12. (p. 587) *Sharḥi Lama'āt.*
13. (p. 663) *Sharḥi Qaṣīda'i Khamriyya.*
14. (p. 695) *Sharḥi Rubā'iyāt.*

15. (p. 721) *Lawā'ih*.
16. (p. 737) *Chihl hadith*.
17. (p. 741) *Sharhi baytayni Mathnawi-yi Mawlawi*.
18. (p. 745) *Sharhi bayti Amiri Khusraw*.
19. (p. 747) *Risala dar sukhani Khwaja Parsa* (a fairly rare work of Jami).
20. (p. 753) *Ayina'i Sikandari*.
21. (p. 801) *Salaman wa Absal*.
22. (p. 823) *Tuhfatul-abrar*.
23. (p. 859) *Subhatul-abrar*.
24. (p. 919) *Nafahatu'l-uns*, about one-third of the work from the beginning, ending in the middle of the biography of Shaykh Ahmad Naser.
25. (p. 1012) *Sharh Muntakhab min-Fusu'l-hikam*, the second half, beginning abruptly.
26. (p. 1104) *Shawahidu'n-nubuwwat*, abruptly beginning in the middle of the sixth *rukn*.

All these works are well known, some of them were repeatedly printed or lithographed, and all of them are described in the catalogues of all large Oriental libraries.

With regard to their appearance one may conceive an idea that the prose works, namely 1 to 6, and 12 to 19 formed parts of one volume, the poetical works 8-11 and 20-23 formed parts of another, Nos. 24 and 25 a third, and Nos. 7 and 26 were transcribed by a different copyist, though in the same style as the other works.

A majority of these works have no colophon containing the date and the name of the copyist. We find only these :

On p. 104 the colophon of No. 5 (*Risala'i kabir dar mu'ammā*) runs as follows : "*tamām shud taswidi in bayād wa tarshihi in riyād bar dasti . . . 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Ahmad al-Jāmī*", and the date is given, without any mention of the day or the month, simply as 856/1452. This is exactly the date of completion of the work, which is also given in other copies. (Cf. fig. 2).

On p. 740 is given the date of completion, but not of transcription, of No. 16,—*Chihl hadith*, as 886/1481.

On p. 751, in the colophon to No. 19, again the same formula appears as in the case of No. 5: "*tamām shud taswīdī in bayād*, etc., *bar dasti*.... 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī", etc.;— no date is given.

On p. 857, in the colophon to No. 22, *Tuḥfatu'l-aḥrār*, it is stated that "*itmām wa intizām*" of this poem took place "*dar silki shuhūri* 886/1481".

And ultimately on p. 1102, in the colophon to No. 25, the commentary on selected chapters from the *Fuṣūṣu'l-ḥikam*, it is said: "*faragha min taswīd Sharḥ*.....Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Mu'arrif al-Harawī", in Shawwāl 909/March-April 1504. (Cf. fig. 3).

II

After having some idea about each of these supposed autograph copies of Jami's works, we may critically analyse the indications on which is based the conclusion as to their being copied by Jami himself.

As every one can see from the plates appended herewith, in which specimens of the handwriting of all three MSS are given *en regard*, there cannot be any doubt as to the handwritings being one and the same in all three copies. We may start again with the St. Petersburg copy.

It must be noted that facsimile reproductions of handwriting made in what is called "line block" usually make it appear thicker than the original. Fifty years ago, in 1886, it was even more difficult to obtain a satisfactorily correct reproduction of the handwriting in this way than it is now. Therefore, in examining the handwriting of the St. Petersburg copy, we must understand that in the original it must be slightly thinner.

If we study plate I in V. Rosen's Catalogue, we can clearly see that the date, 890, 19th Dhī Ḥijja, given in the corner, is nothing but a gloss to the *ta'rīkh*, implying the date of the completion of the work, given in the text. The words *rāqimu'l-kitāb*, etc., may, indeed, indicate that the copy was transcribed by Jami, but we

have no guarantee for this. These words could be easily transcribed from the original by a diligent scribe. We may realise that the volume contains also the *third Diwān* which was completed not before 896/1491, as is well known. As the handwriting of the volume is quite uniform, it must follow that Jami, being very old, could within the last two years of his life spend all his time in copying such a voluminous book, in a style which is typically that of the professional scribes of his time. Jami was not a poor man, and certainly could make a fresh copy employing a copyist. It seems highly improbable that he really would waste his last days on transcription.

In the Bankipur copy we may be surprised with the date of the birth of Jami's son, Yūsuf, in 882/1478, because, if the date of Jami's own birth which is given by the most reliable biographers is correct, he should be then about 65 years of age. But supposing this is true, we find strange things on the MS itself. As can be seen from the page on which the note appears, it is the end of a work, apparently not of one of Jami's own, without a colophon. Under these concluding lines, directly in the middle of the page, is written the note. And under the latter there is a versified chronogram by a poet, for the same date, *in exactly the same handwriting*. And this handwriting is the same as that of the Bombay copy, and of the St. Petersburg MS. Again there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the note was transcribed from Jami's original, by some one else.

If we scrutinize the handwriting of the Bombay copy we may see that the handwriting of the whole of the huge volume is the same throughout, though there are slight variations which are quite natural if we realise how long time such transcription takes. If the scribe is Jami himself, and the colophon on p. 104, giving the date 856/1452, is his, we may wonder how he could preserve exactly the same style, paper, ornamentations, number of lines, etc., for forty years, because his *third Diwān*, as we have seen, was not completed before 896/1491. And if we carefully compare the handwriting of No. 25, transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Harawī in 909/1504, we can see that it is exactly the same as in all other parts of the MS (except for No. 7 and 26), and exactly the same as that of the St. Petersburg and of the Bankipur copies.

Thus an important fact comes to light: none of these copies is an autograph. All of them were transcribed by this Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Harawī, probably a professional scribe (though certainly not quite a first class one), who possibly copied these works from Jami's own drafts, which he carefully followed.

It is interesting to collate the last page of the second *Daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dh-dhahab*, reproduced on plate I in V. Rosen's catalogue, with the same place in the Bombay copy,—the number of slight deviations is quite considerable, and some of them violate the metre. This would hardly be possible should these be copied by the author himself.¹

¹ We may give here a few specimens of such variants, marking the St. Petersburg copy by P and the Bombay copy by B:

دان که جنسیت نهانی omitted in B. اولیا یا راولیا باشند، اشقیای جفت اشتیا باشند،
 B both ماتم غرق را جو زد جبرئیل P ماتم غرق جو زد جبرئیل ; جنسیتی in P هست،
 are incorrect. In the hemistich ریخت موسی ز درد خاک برق in B is written
 in P وی بدین مکرمت چه ارزنده است، که همه مرده اند و وی زنده است. ز در
 incorrect. In B وین بدین مکرمت چه ارزندست، که همه مرده اند و وی زندست A
 little further این تشبه که از عداوت خاست is correct in P, but in B it is
 written خواست. In P کافی است.... کافیست. Apparently the *alif* had not to be read,
 correctly صافیتست.... and صافیتست. but the difference in the ways of writing is quite apparent.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE IMAMS AND DĀ'IS OF THE MUSTA'LIAN ISMAILIS

BY ASAF A. A. FYZEE

The recent activity in the field of Ismailitic studies, and particularly the appearance of W. Ivanow's *Guide to Ismaili Literature* (R. A. S., London, 1933), makes it necessary for us to have a clear idea of the chronology of the Musta'lian¹ Imāms and Dā'is. The dates of death of the earlier Imāms are not difficult to find out,—notwithstanding the remarkable diversity of view and uncertainty regarding some of the dates,—but those of the Dā'is of the Yemenite Da'wat from Saiyid-nā Dhu'aib b. Mūsā downwards are not easily accessible, although the Sulaimānī and Dā'ūdī² prayer books (*Ṣaḥīfatu's-Ṣalāt*) mention them.³

It is not the purpose of this article to establish these dates scientifically. The only object kept in view is to make the traditional dates generally available, with the addition of the corresponding Christian dates.⁴

The first section gives the dates of death of the 21 Imāms; the second section contains the dates of the Yemenite Dā'is, before the bifurcation into the Sulaimānī and Dā'ūdī sub-sects; the third section contains two sub-sections: (A) Sulaimānī (Yemenite) Dā'is and (B) Dā'ūdī (Indian) Dā'is.

It will be observed that in the main the Sulaimānī Da'wat continues to this day the Yemenite tradition, whereas the Dā'ūdī Da'wat is almost entirely Indian. To take but one very apparent difference, the Dā'ūdī Dā'is generally employ honorific titles *after* their names, while the Sulaimānīs preserve the ancient simplicity. Thus the present Dā'ūdī Dā'ī is known as His Holiness Sardār

¹ As distinguished from the Nizārian branch of Ismailis. They are also referred to as the Western Ismailis.

² *Dā'ūdī* is to be preferred to *Dāwūdī*. Wright, *Arab. Gram.*, 3rd ed., i. 18D.

³ In the pages that follow *DS* refers to the Dā'ūdī *Ṣaḥīfatu's-Ṣalāt*, Muḥammadī Press, Bombay, 1344 A.H. (in Gujrātī, written in Arabic characters), and *SS* to the Sulaimānī *Ṣaḥīfatu's-Ṣalāt*, Muṣṭafā'ī Press, Bombay, no date, circa 1340 A.H. (in Urdu).

⁴ *DS*, 337-342; *SS*, 547-552.

Saiyid-nā Tāhir Saifu'd-dīn ; while the Sulaimānī Dā'ī is 'Alī b. Muḥsin, the title Saiyid-nā being common to both.¹

In this connection it is pertinent to point out that Ivanow's classification of the literature of the Western Ismailis is not quite accurate.² All the literature produced from 526/1132 till the death of Dā'ūd b. 'Ajab Shāh, 997/1589 belongs to what may be termed the Yemenite Da'wat, and as such is accepted by all the Musta'lian Ismailis, Dā'ūdīs, Sulaimānīs, and all other minor sections. The distinction between the Sulaimānīs and the Dā'ūdīs arose only after the death of Dā'ūd b. 'Ajab Shāh (26th Dā'ī, died 997 or 999/1589 or 1591). The Dā'ūdīs accepted Dā'ūd b. Quṭb Shāh, and the Sulaimānīs, Sulaimān b. Ḥasan as his rightful successor. Thereafter the headquarters of the Sulaimānī Da'wat remained in the Yemen, while the Dā'ūdī was transplanted to the Indian soil. Therefore the term "Dā'ūdī Literature" cannot be applied to the earlier literature. The literature of early Ismailism and of the Yemenite Da'wat is indicated (roughly speaking) by nos. 1-285 in Ivanow's *Guide* and is the common heritage of all branches of the Musta'lian Ismailis.

In giving the equivalent Christian dates I have used throughout the tables of Wüstenfeld-Mahler.³ The corresponding dates are therefore according to the usual Islamic calendar. The computation peculiar to the Western Ismailis has not been followed, as it would in each case be necessary to base the calculation according to the astronomical appearance, and not the mere visibility, of the New Moon. It is well-known that the Western Ismailis have a calculation of their own which differs from that of the generality of Muslims. For this reason in every case they are ahead of the usual Muslim calendar by a day or two. To take an example, the 'āshūrā' day (10 Muḥarram 1353) this year fell according to the usual calendar on Wednesday, 25 April 1934. But according to the Western Ismailis it fell on Tuesday, the 24th April, as the month commenced a day earlier. Not only do they compute the month

¹ Ivanow has also noticed this, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 10, n. 1. In the Yemen, the dā'ī is called the "dā'ī qabā'il yām". *ET*, iv. 1154.

² See Table of Contents and p. 29 of his *Guide*.

³ Wüstenfeld-Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen der mohammedanischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung*, 2te auflage, von. Ed. Mahler. Leipzig, 1926.

according to the astronomical New Moon, but they also arrange their year so that the month of Ramaḍān is always complete, having 30 days. In the case of the general Muslim calendar the visibility of the moon being uncertain Ramaḍān may or may not have exactly 30 days.

I. THE 21 IMAMS.

- I. Hasan¹ b. 'Alī. 5 Rab. i. 50/2 Apr. 670. Medina.
- II. Ḥusain b. 'Alī. 10 Muḥ. 61/10 Oct. 680. Kerbela.
- III. 'Alī Zainu'l-'Ābidīn b. Ḥusain. 18 Muḥ. 94/24 Oct. 712. Medina.
- IV. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī. 114/732 (DS); 7 Dh.-Ḥ. 130/7 Aug. 748 (SS). (EI, iii. 670 gives 114, 117 and 118 as probable dates). Medina.
- V. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad. 5 Shaw. 148/24 Nov. 765. Medina. (Non-Ismailis give other dates.)
- VI. Ismā'il al-Wafī b. Ja'far. Date unknown. Medina.
- VII. Muḥammad ash-Shākir b. Ismā'il. Date unknown. Ferghāna (DS) or Miṣr (SS).
- VIII. 'Abdu'l-lāh *al-mastūr* ar-Raḍī. No date. Salmiya (DS) or Miṣr (SS).
- IX. Aḥmad *al-mastūr* at-Taḡī. No date. Salmiya (DS) or Miṣr (SS).
- X. Ḥusain *al-mastūr* az-Zakī. No date. Mukarram 'Askar (DS) or Miṣr (SS).
- XI. 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Mahdī bi'l-lāh (1st Fat. Cal.). 15 Rab. i. 322/5 Mar. 934. Mahdiyya,² Tunis.
- XII. Muḥammad al-Qā'im bi-amri'l-lāh (2nd Fat. Cal.). 13 (DS) or 10 (SS) Shaw. 334/18 or 15 May 946. Mahdiyya.

¹ It will be observed that the Musta'lian Ismailis begin their series of Imāms with Ḥasan, and not with 'Alī. Cf. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, 82, n. 2. In both the *Ṣaḥīfas*, the following three additional dates are given before commencing the series of Imāms. (1) Muḥammad the Prophet, born 12 Rab. i., 'ām al-fil; died 12 Rab. i. 11-7 June 632 (SS) or 28 Ṣaf. 11-25 May 632 (DS). Medina. (Fr. Buhl in EI, iii. 656 gives another date—Monday 13 Rab. i. 9-8 June 632.)

(2) 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, 21 Ram. 40-28 Jan. 661. Najaf.

(3) Fāṭima bint 'Alī, 10 Jum. i. 11-3 Aug. 632 (DS), 3 Jum. ii. 11-26 Aug. 632 (SS). Medina.

² For Mahdiyya, see "Qāḍī an-Nu'mān", JRAS for 1934, 9, n. 3.

XIII. Ismā'il al-Manṣūr bi'l-lāh (3rd Fat. Cal.). 28 or 29 Shaw. 341/18 or 19 March 953. Maḥdiyya.

XIV. Ma'add al-Mu'izz li-dīni'l-lāh (4th Fat. Cal.). 11 Rab. i. 365/18 Nov. 975. Cairo.

XV. Nizār al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh (5th Fat. Cal.). 12 Ram. 386/28 Sep. 996. Cairo.

XVI. al-Ḥusain al-Ḥākim bi-amri'l-lāh (6th Fat. Cal.). 27 Shaw. 411/13 Feb. 1021. *DS* says he ascended to Heaven; *SS* gives the place of death as بالاي امان (?).

XVII. 'Alī az-Zāhir li-i'zāzi dīni'l-lāh (7th Fat. Cal.). 15 Sha'b. 427/13 June 1036. Cairo.

XVIII. Ma'add al-Mustansir bi'l-lāh (8th Fat. Cal.). 17 or 18 Dh.-Ḥ. 487/28 or 29 Dec. 1094. Cairo.

XIX. Aḥmad al-Musta'li bi'l-lāh (9th Fat. Cal.). 16 Ṣaf. 495/10 Dec. 1101. Cairo.

XX. al-Manṣūr al-Āmir bi-aḥkāmi'l-lāh (10th Fat. Cal.). 4 Dhū'l-Qa'da 526/16 September 1132 (*DS*); or 3 Dh.-Q. 536/30 May 1142 (*SS*).¹ Cairo.

XXI. Abū'l-Qāsim aṭ-Ṭaiyib. The date and place of death are secret. From him commences the period of *satr*, as opposed to the former period of *zuhūr*. See Ivanow, *Guide to Ism. Lit.* 15.

II. THE YEMENITE DA'WAT.²

526/1132 to 999/1591.

1. Dhu'aib b. Mūsā. 10 Muḥ. 546/29 Apr. 1151. Ḥauth, Yemen.
2. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain al-Ḥāmidī. 7 or 16 Sha'b. 557/22 or 31 July 1162. Ḥifl, Ṣan'ā' (*SS*) or Hamdān, Yemen (*DS*).
3. Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī. 16 Muḥ. 596/7 Nov. 1199. Ḥaṭīb, Yemen.

¹ 536 seems to be a misprint. *EI*, i. 329 has 2 Dh.-Q. 524 (8 Oct. 1130).

² In *DS* before beginning the series of *dā'īs* from Saiyid-nā Dhu'aib b. Mūsā, the names of the following *dā'īs* are also given:

1. Saiyidatu-nā al-Ḥurratu'l-Malika Arwā bint Aḥmad. 22 Sha'bān 532-5 May 1138. Dhi Jabla, Yemen. (For a short account of this remarkable woman see Hamdānī, *JRCAS*, (1931), XVIII, 505 sqq.).
2. al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī. Ṣafar 533-Oct. 1138. Juhūr ash-Shām, Yemen.
3. Lamak b. Mālik. 27 Jum. ii. 510-6 Nov. 1116. Ḥarāz.
4. Yaḥyā b. Mālik. 28 Jum. ii. 520-21 July 1126. Ḥarāz, Yemen.

4. 'Alī b. Ḥātim. 26 Dh.-Q. 605/1 June 1209. Ṣan'ā', Yemen.
5. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid. 27 Sha'b. 612/21 Dec. 1215. Ḥarāz, Yemen.
6. 'Alī b. Ḥanzala al-Wādī'. 12 or 22 Rab. i. 626/8 or 18 Feb. 1229. Hamdān, Yemen.
7. Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak. 28 Jum. ii. 627/14 May 1230. Hamdān, Yemen.
8. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid. 22 Ṣaf. 667/31 Oct. 1268. Ṣan'ā', Yemen.
9. 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad. 13 Dh.-Q. 682/2 Feb. 1284. Ṣan'ā', Yemen.
10. 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Ḥanzala. 1 Ṣaf. (DS) or 21 Ṣaf. (SS) 686/18 Mar. or 7 April 1287. Ṣan'ā', Yemen.
11. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid. 10 Shaw. 728/18 Aug. 1328. Ḥifl Af'ida, Yemen.
12. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī. 1 Dh.-H. 729/26 Sep. 1329. Af'ida, Yemen.
13. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain. 18 Raj. 746/14 Nov. 1345. Ḥiṣn Dhamarmar (DS) or Af'ida, Yemen (SS).
14. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim. 14 or 24 Raj. 755/4 or 14 Aug. 1354. Ḥiṣn Dhamarmar (DS) or Af'ida, Yemen (SS).
15. 'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim. 8 Shaw. 779/7 Feb. 1378. Mashāhid (DS) or Af'ida (SS), Yemen.
16. 'Abdu'l-lāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad. 9 Ram. 809/17 Feb. 1407. Ḥiṣn Dhamarmar, Yemen.
17. Ḥasan b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. 'Alī. 6 Shaw. 821/6 Nov. 1418. In the Aqdām mosque, Ḥiṣn Dhamarmar.
18. 'Alī b. 'Abdi'l-lāh. 3 Ṣaf. 832/12 Nov. 1428. Ḥarāz, Yemen.
19. Idrīs ('Imādu'd-dīn) b. Ḥasan. 19 Dh.-Q. 872/10 June 1468. Ḥarāz (DS) or Shabām (SS), Yemen.
20. Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan. 15 Sha'bān 918/26 Oct. 1512. Ṭaiba (SS) or Ḥarāz (DS), Yemen.
21. Ḥusain b. Idrīs. 10 Shaw. 933/10 July 1527. Ḥarāz, Yemen.

22. 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. Idrīs. 21 Dh.-Q. 933/19 Aug. 1527. Ḥarāz, Yemen.

23. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (SS—Ḥusain) b. Idrīs. 27 Ṣaf. 946/14 July 1539. Zabīd, Yemen.

24. Yūsuf b. Sulaimān. 16 Dh.-Ḥij. 974 (or 973—SS)/24 June 1567 (or 4 July 1566). Ṭaiba, Yemen.

25. Jalāl b. Ḥasan. 16 Rab. ii. 975 (974—SS)/20 Oct. 1567 (or 31 Oct. 1566). Ahmedabad, Gujrat, India.

26. Dā'ūd b. 'Ajab. 27 Rab. ii. 999 (DS) or 997 (SS)/22 Feb. 1591 (or 15 Mar. 1589). Ahmedabad, Gujrat, India.

III.

(A) THE SULAIMANI DA'IS.

(Yemenite.)

27. Sulaimān b. Ḥasan. 25 Ram. 1005/12 May 1597. Ahmedabad, Gujrat, India.

28. Ja'far b. Sulaimān. 29 Rab. ii. 1050/18 Aug. 1640. Ṭaiba, Yemen.

29. 'Alī b. Sulaimān. 18 Sha'b. 1088/16 Oct. 1677. Ahmedabad, Gujrat, India.

30. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. 17 Ṣaf. 1094/15 Feb. 1683. Najrān, Yemen.

31. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. 26 Rab. i. 1109/12 Oct. 1697. Najrān, Yemen.

32. Hibatu'l-lāh b. Ibrāhīm. 25 Ṣaf. 1160/8 Mar. 1747. Salwa, Najrān, Yemen.

33. Ismā'il b. Hibatu'l-lāh. 16 Ṣaf. 1184/11 June 1770. Salwa, Najrān, Yemen.

34. Ḥasan b. Hibatu'l-lāh. 12 Jum. i. 1189/11 July 1775. Raḥṣa, Najrān, Yemen.

35. 'Abdu'l-'alī b. Ḥasan. 29 Ram. 1195/18 Sep. 1781. Ṭaiba, Yemen.

36. 'Abdu'l-lāh b. 'Alī. 17 Dh.-Q. 1225/14 Dec. 1810. Ṣawāba, Badr, Yemen.

37. Yūsuf b. 'Alī. 9 Rajab. 1234/4 May 1819. Ṣawāba, Badr, Yemen.
38. Ḥusain b. Ḥusain, 9 Raj. 1241/17 Feb. 1826. Ṣa'fān, Yemen.
39. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad. 10 Ṣaf. 1256/13 Apr. 1840. Badr, Yemen.
40. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. 12 Rab. i. 1262/10 Mar. 1846. Badr, Yemen.
41. Ḥasan b. Ismā'il. 4 Ṣaf. 1289/13 April 1872. Hudaida, Yemen.
42. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il. 18 Jum. ii. 1306/19 Feb. 1889. Badr, Yemen.
43. 'Abdu'l-lāh b. 'Alī. 30 Raj. 1323/30 Sep. 1905. Jabal hihār, Yemen.
44. 'Alī b. Hibatu'l-lāh. 27 Sha'bān 1331/1 August 1913. Badr, Yemen.
45. 'Alī b. Muḥsin. The present *dā'ir*.

(B) THE DA'UDĪ DA'IS.

(Indian.)

27. Dā'ūd Burhānu'd-dīn b. Quṭb Shāh. 15 Jum. ii. 1021/13 Aug. 1612. Ahmedabad, Gujrat.
28. Shaikh Ādam Ṣaffiyu'd-dīn b. Ṭaiyib Shāh. 7 Raj. 1030/28 May 1621. Ahmedabad.
29. 'Abdu'l-Ṭaiyib Zakīyu'd-dīn b. Quṭb Shāh. 2 Rab. i. 1041/28 Sep. 1631. Ahmedabad.
30. 'Alī Shamsu'd-dīn b. Ḥasan b. Idrīs. 25 Rab. i. 1042/10 Oct. 1632. Yemen.
31. Qāsim Zainu'd-dīn b. Pīr Khān. 9 Shaw. 1054/9 Dec. 1644. Ahmedabad.
32. Quṭb Khān Quṭbu'd-dīn b. Dā'ūd b. Quṭb Shāh. 27 Jum. ii. 1056/10 Aug. 1646. Ahmedabad.
33. Pīr Khān Shujā'u'd-dīn b. Aḥmadji. 9 Dh.-Q. 1065/10 Sep. 1655. Ahmedabad.

34. Ismā'il Badru'd-dīn b. Mullā Rāj b. Ādam. 23 Jum. ii. 1085/24 Sep. 1674. Jāmnagar.
35. 'Abdu't-Ṭaiyib Zakīyu'd-dīn b. Ismā'il Badru'd-dīn. 12 Dh.-Q. 1110/12 May 1699. Jāmnagar.
36. Mūsā Kalīmu'd-dīn b. 'Abdu't-Ṭaiyib Zakīyu'd-dīn. 22 Rab. ii. 1122/20 June 1710. Jāmnagar.
37. Nūr Muḥammad Nūru'd-dīn b. Mūsā Kalīmu'd-dīn. 4 Raj. 1130/3 June 1718. Mandwi, Cutch.
38. Ismā'il Badru'd-dīn b. Shaikh Ādam Ṣafīyu'd-dīn. 7 Muḥ. 1150/7 May 1737. Jāmnagar.
39. Ibrāhīm Wajīhu'd-dīn b. 'Abdi'l-Qādir Ḥakīmu'd-dīn 17 Muḥ. 1168/3 Nov. 1754. Ujjain, Central India.
40. Hibatu'l-lāh al-Mu'aiyad fi'd-dīn b. Ibrāhīm Wajīhu'd-dīn. 1 Sha'b. 1193/14 Aug. 1779. Ujjain.
41. 'Abdu't-Ṭaiyib Zakīyu'd-dīn b. Ismā'il Badru'd-dīn. 4 Ṣaf. 1200/7 Dec. 1785. Burhānpūr.
42. Yūsuf Najmu'd-dīn b. 'Abdu't-Ṭaiyib Zakīyu'd-dīn. 18 Jum. ii. 1213/27 Nov. 1798. Surat.
43. 'Abd 'Alī Saifu'd-dīn b. 'Abdu't-Ṭaiyib Zakīyu'd-dīn. 12 Dh.-Q. 1232/23 Sept. 1817. Surat.
44. Muḥammad 'Izzu'd-dīn b. Shaikh Jīvanjī. 19 Ram. 1236/20 June 1821. Surat.
45. Ṭaiyib Zainu'd-dīn b. Shaikh Jīvanjī. 15 Dh.-Q. 1252/21 Feb. 1837. Surat.
46. Muḥammad Badru'd-dīn b. 'Abd 'Alī Saifu'd-dīn. 29 Jum. ii. 1256/28 Aug. 1840. Surat.
47. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Najmu'd-dīn b. Ṭaiyib Zainu'd-dīn. 26 Raj. 1302/12 April 1885. Ujjain.
48. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain Ḥusāmu'd-dīn b. Ṭaiyib Zainu'd-dīn. 27 Dh.-Ḥij. 1308/3 Aug. 1891. Ahmedabad.
49. Muḥammad Burhānu'd-dīn b. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Najmu'd-dīn. 27 Dh.-Ḥij. 1323/22 Feb. 1906. Surat.
50. 'Abdu'l-lāh Badru'd-dīn b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain Ḥusāmu'd-dīn. 10 Rab. i. 1333/26 Jan. 1915. Surat.
51. Ṭāhir Saifu'd-dīn b. Muḥammad Burhānu'd-dīn. The present *dā'ir'ul-mutlaq*.

Note on the numerical extent of the Musta'lian Ismailis.—The exact numerical extent of the Musta'lian Ismailis is not known. Their chief strongholds to-day are the Yemen, South Arabia and the Bombay Presidency in India. They are also to be found scattered all over India, East Africa and even in China, and curiously enough a few are to be found also in Spain.¹ No figures are available from the Yemen, the population of that province being variously estimated at 1,000,000, 1,800,000 and 5,000,000. See Grohmann in *Enc. of Islām*, s. v. Yaman, iv. 1155, 1156. It appears however that out of these 60,000 are Jews, a few Parsees and Christians, and the rest are Muslims of different denominations. "The highlands between Ṣa'da, Yarīm and 'Aththara and the whole of the East including al-Jawf are Zaidī; the Tihāma, Ta'izziya and Haḍramot, Shāfi'ī. The Ismā'īliya includes among its followers the districts of Najrān, Hamdān, Ṭaiba, Ḥarāz, Ṣa'fān and the neighbourhood of Yarīm. The Ya'qūbī sect has followers in the vicinity of Menākha" (*EI*, *ibid.*). Nothing definite is to be found also in the article on the tribe of "Yām" (*EI*, iv. 1154). Their fighting forces are variously estimated at 25, 40 and 100 thousand; but no reliance can be placed on these figures. The Ismā'ilīs in the Yemen are mostly Sulaimānī and the *dā'ī* is known as "Dā'ī Qabā'il Yām" (*EI*, *ibid.*). A modest estimate would be 25 to 30 thousand.

The figures for India are more definite, and being available from the Census Report, are as follows:

BOHORAS. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. ii, Table xvii, page 529.

Bohoras in India. Total population—212,752.

Chief provincial figures:

Bombay	..	..	..	..	..	118,952
Baroda	..	..	..	..	..	28,355
Western India States Agency	..	..				17,005
Rajputana	..	..	..	..	..	15,302
Central India	..	..	..	..	..	14,715

Variation of Population in Bombay (including Western India States Agency). Vol. I, Pt. i, Table xii, page 464.

1931	1921	1911
137,957	132,299	126,011

Increase 1911-31—plus 11,946.

I may add that I was unable to give the 1931 figures in the *Ismā'ī Law of Wills*, 3, n. 2, as the figures for 1931 were not available in the middle of 1933, when that book was published.

Bombay, April 1934.

¹ *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. 1, Pt. i, p. 72, mentions that 200 Bohoras are to be found in Spain.

THE WIDE SOUND OF ए AND ओ IN KĀTHIĀVĀḌ

By N. B. DIVATIA

In an elaborate article in the last issue of the JBBRAS (Voll IX, New Series, Nos. 1-2) Mr. D. R. Māṅkaḍ states that this wide sound of ए and ओ is absent in some parts of Kāthiāvāḍ, and stresses its absence *at least* in Hālār and Sorath (section 5 of Mr. Māṅkaḍ's article).

Before examining the implications of this guarded statement I should like to note that Mr. Māṅkaḍ's main thesis is for the Sorathī dialect, discussing as he does the peculiarities found in the spoken language of Kāthīs, Āhīrs, Chārāns, Mers and other tribes, whereas his section 5 (and partly section 4) mix up some main divisions of Kāthiāvāḍ. However, this is comparatively a minor issue.

My main point is that in the statement quoted above Mr. Māṅkaḍ has a covert aim at my views embodied in *Gujarātī Language and Literature* Vol. II, pp. 334-335 on the Kāthiāvāḍī sound (wide sound) in words like चढे for चौढे (Gujarāt proper). I should be excused if I quote the necessary portion from my work just now referred to :—

“Distance and detachment are annihilated now with the advent of railways and telegraph and interprovincial intermingling has brought in a new state of things. Kāthiāvāḍa is sending out in large numbers students into Gujarāt proper and migrations of the cultured classes are a noteworthy feature. All this intercommunication is a potent unifying factor, as also the silent acceptance of a more or less common literary standard of language, as a result of the first factor. The Suratis have long given up the स sound when श is the recognized *śiṣṭa* one, in literature and even in everyday speech. Kāthiāvāḍīs are also steadily getting over their angularities in linguistic features visibly in written literature imperceptibly, and a little slowly in spoken language. As an

indication of this I may mention a recent incident. The word घोडो was, and even now is, pronounced with a broad ओ in घो, thus : घोडो. I have known this from personal contact with several Kāthiāvāḍīs of different sub-provinces (They pronounced घोळवुं also with a broad ओ e.g. ए ना आव्यो तो घोळियो). When I questioned some young Kāthiāvādī friends as to this broad sound in घोडो some said “No, we always pronounce it with the narrow ओ-घोडो. Some Kāthīs or Gohilvādīs may be sounding it broad, we Hālārīs don’t; while-others, themselves Hālārīs, admitted that they sounded the broad ओ in घोडो. The reason is clear. Peculiarities of this kind are fast disappearing in cultured language, thanks, amongst the forces noted above, to the fact that the education of Kāthiāvād was under the guidance of teachers from Gujarāt proper for a number of years and young men, who were not born when this broad sound was all-prevalent or whose observation is not keen and who live in the new atmosphere of unification, naturally believe that the sound did not and does not exist in their land. Another little fact may be noted; the peculiar Kāthiāvādī accentuation of words—not like the Vedic, nor like the English accent or the Hindī accent, but a sort of cross between accent and emphasis distinguished the people of the peninsula. Where a resident of Gujarāt would say in a colorless way ए तो थावानुं नथी the Kāthiāvādī said ई तो थावानुं नथी. (I mark the accent-emphasis by a perpendicular stroke).

This accentuation has slowly and steadily been disappearing and the young Kāthiāvādīs now sojourning in Gujarāt and Bombay talk as if they were never to the manner born.”

This will show—

- (a) that in examining the peculiarities of pronunciation and idioms of Kāthiāvādī speech I have kept in view the province as a whole, marking off the vogue in subdivisions like Gohilvād, Hālār and the like;
- (b) that the claim of some Hālārīs to the narrow ओ in घोडो is not universally recognized by the Hālārīs themselves;

and

recent years, and also to want of correct observation on the part of persons like Mr. Mānkaḍ and others.¹

But I would claim that Mr. Mānkaḍ's statement that the wide sound is absent in some parts of Kāthiāvād amounts evidently to an admission that this wide sound *is present* in *other* parts of Kāthiāvād which is all that I contend in speaking of Kāthiāvādī peculiarities as a whole.

One point more before I conclude. Mr. Mānkaḍ imagines that the narrow sound in बेसे and कोण is due to the बिसि and कुण forms (see p. 90 in his article). How the mere इ and उ could yield this narrow sound it is difficult to comprehend. Such short cuts do not constitute बीजलाघव as he claims; they are on the contrary cases of कमलाघव. If Mr. Mānkaḍ re-reads my discussion on बीजलाघव and कमलाघव and examines my conclusion at p. 144 in my *Gujarātī Language and Literature* Vol. I and the discussion preceding and succeeding that page, he would see that the wide sound is due to the य् and व् resulting from the accent on the अ in the अइ and अउ (वइसइ-कउण) whereas the narrow sound results from the accent falling in the इ and उ of अइ-अउ or from the long ई and ऊ (in अई-अऊ); see instances beginning with गघेडो and ending with

¹ Apart from Mr. Mānkaḍ's want of observation his reading of the history of Gujarātī phonetics is erroneous. This is evident from his remarks in his section 3 on the elision of the *h* sound, especially when he virtually questions the effect of the faulty system of spelling adopted in the Government Vernacular Reading Series. Perhaps he is not to blame, for it was not possible for him to know anything about these series. Let me make myself more clear. The class of persons—educated ones—affected by the innovations of the Reading Series, used till then to see ह present in reading and writing, whereas the classes in Kāthiāvād noted by Mr. Mānkaḍ are outside the influence of the new system. Any argument, therefore, based on this situation will be faulty. For what is claimed by the advocates of the *h* sound is that till the innovations stated above came into vogue the

गुहिलेत in the table at pp. 138-143 of GLL Vol. I, as also the previous tables. He will see that this process is the real बीजलाघव process.¹

Bombay,

13th February 1934.

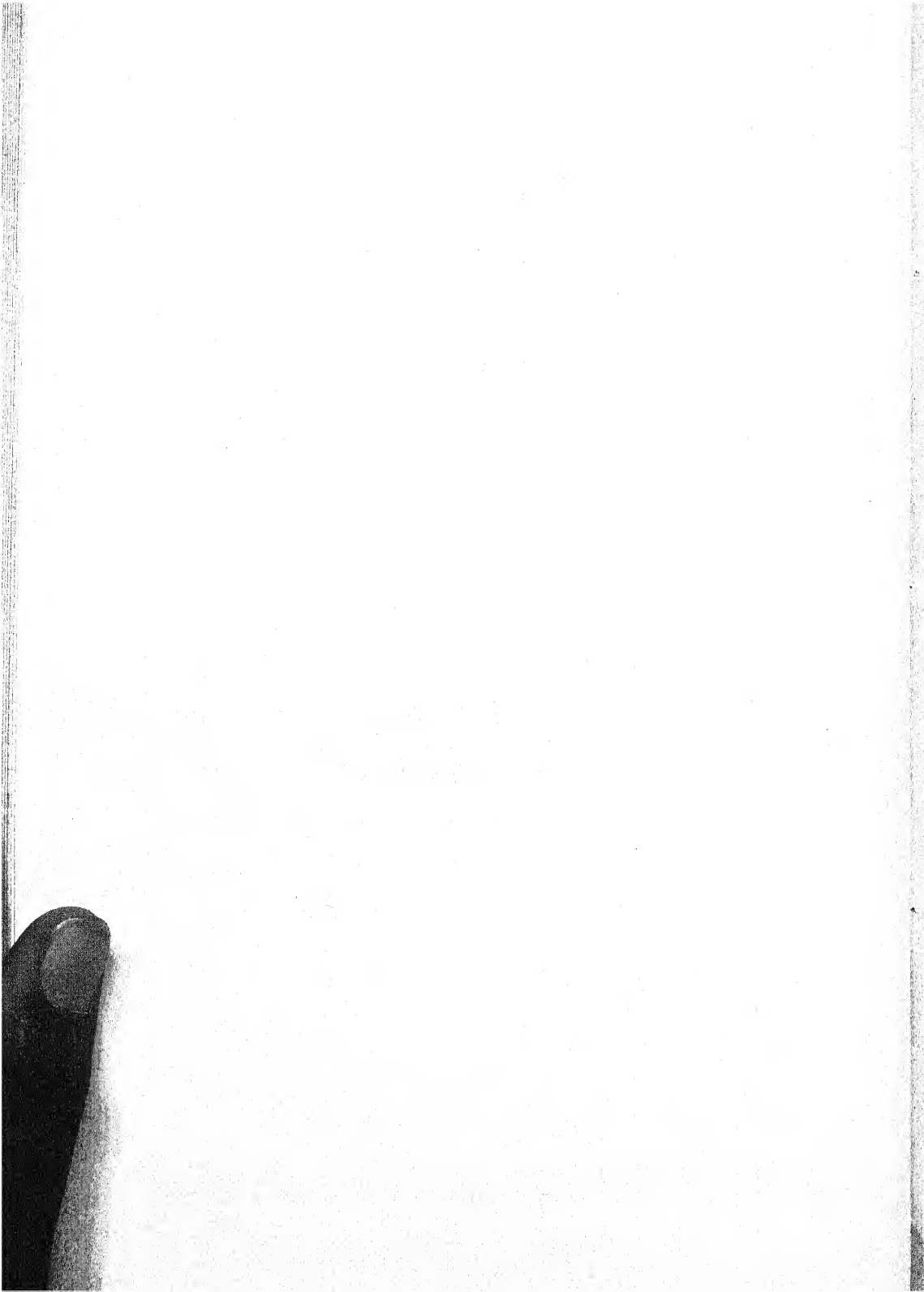
¹ I do not follow Mr. Māṅkaḍ in his nomenclature when he speaks of the *short* sound in contrast with the wide sound : he speaks of "both the wide and short sounds" Does he use it as a synonym of the narrow sound ? Or, does he distinguish the two ? If so, how ? To my mind the sounds are either wide or narrow, (not short and long).



Kolhapur Copperplate Grant of Akalavarsadeva. Seal.

[illegible]

[illegible]



KOLHAPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF AKĀLAVARṢADEVA.

By K. G. KUNDANGAR.

No one knows how and when these plates were procured. They were in the keeping of the Superintendent of the Jayasingarao Abasaheb Ghatage, Technical School, Kolhapur, for a number of years, and were sent to the Irwin Agricultural Museum, Kolhapur, in the year 1927 by Rao Saheb D. R. Mahadik, the present Superintendent of the School. The plates are three in number and are connected by a ring $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick and of a circular diameter of $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". On its back side are incised the letters *Bīraya* in *Kannaḍa* characters. On the ring is a square seal of $2\frac{3}{4}$ " on which are in bas-relief the images of Śaṅkara, Gaṇapati, and Ṣaḍānana, at the centre, and left and right corners. On the left and right sides of the head of Śaṅkara are the sun and the moon respectively. Below the image are inscribed the letters *Śrīmad-Akālavarṣa-devaru* in Devanāgarī characters; 'ru' is a *Kannaḍa* termination. The ring was not cut when the plates were received in the Museum.

The plates are $16\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $9\frac{3}{4}$ " \times $\frac{3}{8}$ " and weigh along with the ring 37 lbs. Letters are inscribed on one side of the first and the third plates, and on both sides of the second. The rims of the plates are raised to protect the inscription. In line 14 the letters "*īṛvyah śrī-Kṛṣṇarā*" are corroded and gone. The text of the inscription is in Devanāgarī characters, well-formed and legible throughout. The plates are in a good state of preservation.

The letter 'va' is written for 'ba' throughout as in '*lavdha*' for '*labdha*' l. 2, '*vāndhava*' for '*bāndhava*' l. 4, '*aṁvu*' for '*aṁbu*' l. 13, '*vimva*' for '*bimba*' l. 2 and 17, etc. The first letter of a conjunct consonant is generally doubled when preceded or followed by 'ra' (*Kannaḍa* influence) as in '*vicittrita*' l. 2, '*taittra*' l. 8, '*Danti-durgga*' l. 11, '*garuva*' l. 19 etc. And 'ri' is sometimes written for *r* as '*grihātum*' l. 54, '*Coḍa*' is written for '*Cola*', throughout. The language is pretty correct, and seems to be an improvement over the *Karhad* plates published by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar in *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Pages 278-290. Almost all the verses in the *Karhad*

plates appear in this charter; however, the 14th, 21st, 23rd, and 24th are new, and are not found in the Karhad plates. The following are the differences from the Karhad plates:—

<i>Line.</i>	<i>Kolhapur plates.</i>	<i>Karhad plates.</i>
35	Deva	nṛapati
37	varṁse	patnī
37	rāṣṭra	rājya
39	Vappukau	Vappugau
40	Āsanna	Āsīnna
44	utkataih	udbhavaih

The family relation between the Kalacūries and the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas is faintly referred to in this inscription (l. 37).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Rikkāṭi (the present Rukadi near Kolhapur) situated in the district of Alatage 700 in the province of Kuḥuṇḍi (l. 60) by Akālavaraśadeva called Vallabha Narendradeva also (l. 51-52) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the year Śaka 882 (corresponding to the year 960 A. D.) Raudra Samvatsara. The grantee was one Govindabhaṭṭa of Ātreyasagotra, whose family had migrated from Kuregrāma (Koregaon) in the province of Karahāṭaka.

The places mentioned in the plates are identified below.

Alatage is about 17 miles to the north-east of Kolhapur. Rikkāṭi (the modern Rukadi) the place granted, is about 5 miles to the south-east of Alatage.

Siregrāma is said in the plates to be to the east of Rikkāṭi. But no place like Siragāva or Siragūru can be traced in the vicinity of the place of the grant. The village Sājāṇi exactly fits in, and is about 3 miles to the east of Rukadi. It cannot be said with certainty whether the place is identical with Siregrāma. But considering the position of Mānagāva which stands for Māligrāma of the plates one is lead to believe that this is the place referred to.

Māligrāma is the modern Mānagāva to the south-east of Rukadi near Sājāṇi.

Koḍavali is the present Paṭṭaṇa-Koḍoli about three miles to the south of Rukadi.

Yerurage is Herle and is situated at a distance of two miles to the north-west of Rukaḍi. It was an important place under the rule of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur.

Muṇḍasage is the present Muḍasinge about two miles to the north of Rukaḍi near Herle.

Cincavāṭa is the present Cincavāḍa to the west of Rukaḍi.

Choke is the present Cokāka to the north-west of Rukaḍi.

Some allowance must be made for the rough geographical knowledge of the people of the 9th century. They were not so very well equipped with the apparatus at the disposal of the present surveyors. Their knowledge, therefore, was bound to be defective. However all these places are within four miles from Rukaḍi (Rikkaṭi of the plates) near Kolhapur. It can justly be concluded, therefore, that Rikkaṭi of the plates is the present Rukaḍi near Kolhapur.

TRANSLITERATION.

1st plate; second side.

1. Sa=jayati jagad-utsava-praveśa-prathana-paraḥ-kara-palavo Murāreḥ / lasad-amṛta-payaḥ-kaṇām.

2. ka-Lakṣmī-stana-kalaś-ānana-lavdha¹-saṁniveśaḥ // 1 // Jayati ca Girijā-kapola-vimvād²=adhigata-pattra-vicittritāmsa-

3. bhittiḥ/Tripura-vijayinaḥ priy-oparodhād=dhṛta-Madan-ābhaya-dāna-śāsan-eva // 2 // Śrīmān=asti nabha-sthalaika-tilakas-ttrai-

4. lokya-nettr-otsavo devo Manmatha-vāndhavaḥ³ kumudini-nāthaḥ sudhā-didhitiḥ / niś-śeṣ-āmara-tarppaṇ-ārppita-tanu-prakṣinat-ālam-

5. Kṛte yasy-āmsaḥ śirasā guṇa-priyatayā nūnam dhṛtaḥ Śambhunā // 3 // Tasmād=vikāsana-paraḥ kumud-āvalinām doṣ-āndhakāra-dalanaḥ.

6. paripūrit-āśaḥ / jyotsnā-pravāha=iva darsita-suddha-pakṣaḥ prāvarttata kṣiti-tale kṣiti-pāla-vaṁśaḥ // 4 // abhavad=atula-kāntis=tattva muktā-

¹ Labdha.

² Bimbāt.

³ Bāndhavaḥ.

7. maṇinām gaṇa=iva Yadu-varṇśo dugdha-sindhūyamāne /
adhigata-hari-nīla-prollasan-nāyaka-śrīr=aśīthīla-guṇa-saṃgo-
bhūṣa-

8. naṃ yo bhuvo=bhūt // 5 // Udvṛtta-daitya-kula-
kandala-śānti-hetus=tatṛ-āvatāram=akarot puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ /
tad=varṇśa-jā=

9. Jagatituṅga-yaśaḥ-prabhāvās=tungā=itīkṣīti-bhujāḥ pra-
thitā=vabhūvuḥ¹ // 6 // Kṣīti-tala-tilakas=tad=anvaye

10. ca kṣata-ripu-danti-ghaṭo=janiṣṭa Raṭṭaḥ / tam=anu
ca suta-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-nāmnā bhuvi vidito=jani Rāṣṭrakūṭa-varṇśaḥ
// 7 // Tasmād=arāti-

11. vanitā-kuca-cāru-hāra-nihāra-bhānur=udagād=iha Danti
durggaḥ/ekaṃ cakāra catur=avdy²-upakaṇṭha-sīma-kṣetraṃ ya e-

12. tad=asi-lāṅgala-bhinna-durggaḥ // 8 // Susnigdham-
ghana-pattra - saṃcaya-kṛta-chāyām = mano-hāriṇīm = ūḍh -
odāra-phalām samāśri-

13. ta-jana-śrānti-vyapoha-kṣamāṃ / yaś=cālukya-kul-āla-
vāla-valayād = uddhṛtya Lakṣmī-latām siktām danti-mad-
āmvubhiḥ³=sthira-pa-

14. d-āśaktīm sva-varṇśe=karot // 9 // Tasmād-apālayad-
imāṃ vasudhām pi-(trvyaḥ śrī⁴-Kṛṣṇarāja)-nṛpatih śarad-abhra-
śubhraiḥ / ya-

15. t-kārit-eśvara-grhair-vvasumaty - aneka - Kailāsa - śaila-
nicit-eva ciraṃ vibhāti // 10 // Govinda-rāja=iti ta-

16. sya vabhūva⁵ nāmnā sūnuḥ sa=bhoga-bhara-bhaṅgura-
rājya-cintaḥ / ātm-ānuje Nirupame viniveśya samyak-

Second plate first side.

17. sāmrajyam=iśvara-padaṃ śīthilicakāra // 11 // Śvet-
ātapattra-tṛitay-endu-vimva⁶ -līl-oday-ādreḥ kali-vallabh-
ākhyāt / tataḥ kṛt-ārāti ma-

¹ Babbhūvuḥ.

² Catur=abdhy-upa.

³ Āmbubhiḥ.

⁴ This portion is worn out.

⁵ Babbhūva.

⁶ Bīm̐ba.

18. debha-bhaṅgo jāto jagat-tuṅga-mṛg-ādhirājaḥ // 12 //
at-sūnur=ānata-nṛpo nṛpatuṅga-devaḥ so=bhūt-sva-sainya-
iara-bhangurit-āhirājaḥ / yo Mānya-

19. khetam=amarendra-pur-opahāsi gīrvāna-garvvaṃ=ivai
arvvayituṃ vyadhata // 13 // Tasy=ottarjita-Gūrjjaro
stahata=Lat-odbhata-śrīmadō Gauḍānām vi-

20. naya-vṛt-ārppana-guruḥ Sāmudra-nidrā-haraḥ / dvārasth-
ṅga-Kalīṅga-Gaṅga-Magadhair = abhyarcit = ajñās-ciraṃ
nuḥ sūnṛta-vāg-bhuvāḥ parivṛdhaḥ śrī-Kṛ-

21. śnarājo=bhavat // 14 // Abhūj=jagat-tuṅga=iti pras¹
has=tad-aṅgajaḥ strī-nayan-āmṛt=aṁśuḥ / alavdha¹-rājyaḥ
=divaṃ vininye divy-āṅganā-prārthanay=eva Dhātṛā // 15 //

22. Tan-nandanāḥ kṣitim=apālayad=Indrarājo=yad-rūpa-
mbhava-parābhava-bhīruḥ=eva / mānāt-puraiva Madanena
nākapāṇi-kop-āgninā ni-

23. Ja-tanuḥ kriyate sma bhasma // 16 // Tasmād-amogha-
r-śo raudra-dhanur-bhaṅga-janita-vala²—Mahimā/Rāma=iva
maṇiyaka-mahā-nidhir-Daśa-

24. rathāj=jātaḥ // 17 // Kṣipraṃ divaṃ pitur=iva
anayād=gatasya tasy=ānujo manuja-loka-lalāma—bhūtaḥ/
ijyan=dadhe Madana-saukhya-vilāsa-

25. kando=Govindarāja=iti viśruta-nāmadheyāḥ // 18 //
=py=aṅganā—nayana-pāśa—niruddha-vuddhir=unmārgga-
ṅga-vimukhī-

26. kṛta sarvva-satvaḥ / doṣa-prakopa-viśama-prakṛtiḥ ślath=
ṅgaḥ prāpat=kṣayaṃ sahaja-tejasi jāta jādye // 19 //
mantair-

27. atha Ratṭa-rājya-mahimā-lamv³-ārtham=abhyarthito=
ven=āpi Pinākinā Hari-kul-ollāsaiṣiṇā preṛitaḥ / adhyāsta
athamo=vive -

28. kiṣu Jagattuṅga-ātmaḥ=mogha-vāk-peyūṣ⁴-āvdhir=
mogha-varṣa-nṛpatiḥ śrī-vīra-simhāsanam // 20 // Paṭṭo
sya lalāta-dhāmni vika-

1 Alabdha. 2 Bala. 3 Mahim-ālambārtham. 4 Vāk-piyūṣ-ābdi.

29. *te sāmanta-mukhyair=mudā vaddho*¹ =maṇḍalibhis=tadaiva ca bhiyā svasya praṇām-āṁjaliḥ / *yasy=oddāma-mad-āndha-sindhura-pati-skandh-ādhiroho-*

30. *dyame lil-āṁco=pi bhay=ākulai=ripu-kulaiḥ śailaḥ samādhyāsitaḥ* // 21 // *Dharme Manuḥ samara-karmmaṇi Kārttavīryo=vīrye valiḥ.*²

31. *jana-mano-haraṇe Dilipaḥ* / *Uccaiś=cirantana-yaśāmsi haraṇ=ap=itthaṁ vṛddheṣu namra-carito vinayena yo=bhūt* // 22 // *Siddhy-amjanāḥ*

32. *khala-janeṣu vīteṣv=iva prāg-doṣ-āndhakāra-valato*³ =ratim=abhyupetaḥ *yasy=odaye Hari-kul-āmvara*⁴ -Śitaraśmehḥ *sva-svāmi-*

33. *nām=iva gatā guṇinām grhāṇi* // 23 // *Sāṁgatyaṁ śrī-Sarasvatyoḥ Sāhasāṁka-parikṣaye naṣṭaṁ cireṇa yaṁ prā-*

Second plate, second side.

34. *pya punaḥ saṁsthānam=āgataṁ* // 24 // *Kim=iva sukṛta-rāser=vvarṇyate tasya cittraṁ yudhi ripubhir=aśeṣair-vvikṣito=bhajyamānaiḥ*

35. *viyati nikaṭa-vartti yasya jātaḥ sahāyaḥ praṇata-Hari-Viriṇo-ābhyaṛceitaś-Candra-mauliḥ* // 25 // *Śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja-devas=tasmā-*

36. *t-parameśvarād=ajani sūnuḥ* / *yaḥ śakti-dharaḥ swāmī ku-māra-bhāve=py=abhūd=bhuvane* // 26 // *Rāma-hata-Sahasra-bhujo=bhuja-dvayā-*

37. *kalita-samada-Rāmeṇa janani-vamśe gurur=api yena Sahasrarjuno=vijitaḥ* // 27 // *Śrī-Raṭṭa-rāṣṭra-pura-vara-rakṣā-parikhā-*

38. *madena yasy=ājñāṁ* / *Vipulāṁ vilamghayantaḥ svayam=apatan drohiṇo=dhastāt* // 28 // *Yena Madhu-Kaitabhāv=iva punar=unmagnau jan-o-*

39. *pamarddāya* / *Śrīvallabhena nihatau bhuvi Dantiga-Vappukau duṣṭau* // 29 // *Rathyāmalla-viṣa drumam=udasya nihitena yo kṛta-sanāthām* / *Bhūtā-*

¹ Baddho.

² Baliḥ.

³ Balato.

⁴ Ambara.

40. rya-puṇya-taruṇā vāṭim=iva Gaṁga pāṭiṇca // 30 //
Pari-malit-Āṇṇiga-Pallava-vipattir=āsanna-vismaya-sthānaṁ /
visphurati yat-pratā-

41. pe=śeṣita-vidveṣi-Gāṁgaughe // 31 // Yasya paruṣ-
ekṣit-ākṣila-dakṣiṇa-dig-durgga-vijayam=ākaranya / galitā-
gūrjjara-hṛdayāt-Kā-

42. laṁjara-Citrakūṭ=āsā // 32 // Anamann-āpūrvv-āpa-
ra-jalanidhi-Himaśaila-Sinhala-dvīpāt / yaṁ janak-ājñā-vaśam
=api-

43. maṇḍalinaś-caṇḍa-daṇḍa-bhayāt // 33 // Snigdha-
syāma¹-rucā pralamva²-bhujayā pīn-āyat-oraskayā mūrtyā
kīrtti-lat-āhit-āmṛta-jalai-

44. r=vṛttaiś-ca sattv-otkataiḥ / jñātv=āyaṁ puruṣottamaṁ
bharasahaṁ viśvaṁbhar-ābhyuddhṛtau śānte dhāmni layaṁ ga-
taḥ prasāminām=ādyaḥ kṛtārthaḥ pi-

45. tā // 34 // Vṛtte-nṛtta-sur-āṁgane sarabhasaṁ-divy-
arṣi-datt-āsīṣi Śrī-kāntasya nitānta-toṣita-Hare=rāgy-ābhīṣek-
otsave / yasy-āvaddha³-kara-gra-

46. h-odyama-bhavat-kāṁp-ānurāg-odayād=dikkanyāḥ sva-
samarppaṇo=rttham=abhavaṁ=llagn-ānukulya-priyāḥ // 35 /
Luptāḥ ke=pi nij-āspadād=guṇa-

47. bhṛtaḥ kecit-pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ ke=py=anyonya-vibhedato=
viralitāḥ kecittu saṁśleṣitāḥ / yen=āty-ūrjjita-śavda⁴-tantra-
patinā varṇṇā=i-

48. v=occ-āvacāṁ nitā-maṇḍalino=daśāṁ sumahataḥ siddhiṁ
padasy=ecchata // 36 // Kṛtvā dakṣiṇa-dig-jay-odyata-
dhiyā Coḍānvay-o-

49. nmūlanāṁ tad=bhūmiṁ nija-bhṛtya-bharmma-paritaś-
Ceramma- Pāṇḍyādikām / yen=occaiḥ saha Simhalena karadān
san-maṇḍal-ā-

50. dhiśvarān=nyastaḥ kīrtti-lat-āṁkura-pratikṛti-stambhaś=
ca Rāmeśvare // 37 // Sa=ca parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahā-rāj-
ādhi-rāja-param-e-

¹ Śyāma

² Pralamba.

³ Ābaddha.

⁴ Śabda.

Third plate, first side.

51. śvara / Śrīmad-Amoghavarṣa-pād-ānudyāta-parama-
bhaṭṭāraka-Mahā-rāj-ādhirāja-parameśvara-Śrīmad-Akālavarṣa-
deva / pṛthvī-

52. vallabha-Śrīmad-Vallabha-narendra-devaḥ / kuśalī sarvān
=eva yathā saṁvadyamānakān¹ rāṣṭra-pati-viśaya-pati-grama-
kūṭa-mahattara-yu-

53. kṭak-opayuktak-ādhikārikān samādiśaty=astu / vaḥ
saṁviditaṁ kṛte=vara-dig-vijayena dakṣiṇ-āsām=api nirjjitya
pracāṇḍa-Coda-varṁśa-

54. m=unmūlya Coda-Cera-Sīmhala-bhūmir-vibhajya bhṛtye-
bhyo=jīvanam vi dhātum maṇḍal-eśvarāṇām sarvasvāni pari-
grihitum Setu-cakr-opānte ya-

55. śaḥ parvvatam=iva Kṛṣṇeśvar-āyatanaṁ / Gaṇḍa-
Mārttaṇḍ-Ādity-āyatanaṁ / Kāñci-maṇḍale Kāla-priya-dev-
āyatanaṁ / vikaṭo=vakr-ādy-āya-

56. tanāni spādāyitum² Melpāṭi-sam-āvasita-śrīmad-vijaya-
katakēna Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śateṣv-aṣṭasu dvy-
aśīti-

57. tama-saṁpravarttamāna-Raudra-saṁvatsar-āntarggata-
Vaiśākha-sūddha-pakṣ-ākṣaya-trītiyāyām Budhavāre Rohiṇi-
nakṣatre mātā-pitror=ātma-

58. naś=ca puṇya-yaśo=bhivṛddhaye Karahāta-viśay-āntar-
ggata-Kureggrāma-vinirgat-āttreyasa-gotra-vahu...vasa brah-
macāri-³

59. Rāmadeva-bhaṭṭa-Yautu-bhaṭṭa-Devabhaṭṭa-sutāya ve-
da-ved-āṅga-pāragāya Śrīmad-Govinda-bhaṭṭāya Kuhu-

60. ṇḍī-viśay-āntarggataḥ Alatage-sapta-śata-prativaddhaḥ⁴-
savṛkṣa-mālā-kulasya dhānya-hiraṇy-ādeyaḥ sada-

61. ṇḍa-doṣa-daś-āparādhāḥ sarvv-otpatti-sahitaḥ pūrvva-
prasiddha-catuḥśimā-paryanto=cchadma-dāya-nyāyena Rikkati-
nāmā-

¹ Saṁbadhyamānakān.

³ Brahmacāriṇe.

² Niṣpādāyitum.

⁴ Pratibaddhaḥ.

62. grāmaś-c-ācandr-ārka-namasyo mayā dattaḥ / Yasya pūrvataḥ / Siriggrāma-Māliggrāmau sthitau / tathaiva dakṣiṇa-syān=diśi-

63. Koḍavali-Ciñcavātau / Pascimataḥ / Yerurage Choke / uttarataḥ Muṇḍasage nāmā-grāmaḥ parvvat-āgrāsvuparivarttaśca / even=ca-

64. tura - - - ta viśuddham Rikkati-grāmaṁ Śrī-Govinda-bhaṭṭasya kṛṣataḥ karṣayato=bhuñjato=bhojayato=pānakena vidhmā-ghātaḥ kāryaḥ -Ya-

65. ś-ca karoti sa=pañcabhir=api mahā-pātakair=upapātak-kaiś-ca saṁyuktaḥ syāt // Uktaṁ ca // ṣaṣṭim varṣa-sahasraṇi svargge tiṣṭhati bhūmi-

66. daḥ / ācchett-ānumantā-ca tāny=eva narake vaset // Vin-dhy-ātaviṣu toyāṣu¹ śuṣka-koṭara-vasinaḥ / kṛṣṇ-āhaya=hi jāyante bhūmi-

67. dān-āpahāriṇaḥ // Vahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā pārvataiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ / yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ // Sāmānyo=yam dharma-setur-

68. nṛpāṇāṁ kāle kāle pālaniyo=bhavadbhiḥ / sarvvān=evaṁ bhāvinaḥ pārvathiveṣu² bhūyo bhūyo yācate Rāmabhadraḥ // Yosyagmena likhitam=iti //

TRANSLATION.

1-2 (V. 1). Triumphant is Murāri's leaf-like (tender) hand, that ushers in the manifestation of the festivity of the world, and which rests on the nipples of the jar-like breasts of Lakṣmī marked with shining particles of milky water.

2-3 (V. 2). And triumphant is the rampart-like broad shoulder of the conqueror of the three cities (Śiva), which is adorned by variegated figures impressed upon it by the excellent (disc-like) cheeks of the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī), which bears, as it were, out of a desire to confer a favour on his beloved, a record of grant promising safety to the God of Love (Madana).

¹ The word ought to be "toyēṣu".

² The word ought to be "pārvathiveṣu".

3-5 (V. 3). There is the glorious God Moon, the sole ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of the God of Love, the lord of the night lotus, whose rays are full of nectar, whose wanness, caused by his having given up his body for gratification of all the Gods, is his ornament, and a portion of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu verily on account of his (Śiva's) love for excellent qualities.

5-6 (V. 4). From him sprang forth on earth a race of kings like a stream of moon-light—which enhanced the series of the joys of the people,¹ (as moon-light expands the series of night-lotuses which destroyed the darkness of sin as the other destroys the darkness of night), which fulfilled all desires (as the other fills all the quarters), and which had unblemished adherents (as the other brings on the bright half of the month).²

6-8 (V. 5). Therein arose the family of Yadu of matchless brilliance like a collection of pearls of matchless lustre in the ocean of milk—a family which being strong in the possession of merits and having for its illustrious leader the dark complexioned Hari (like a necklace whose beauty is enhanced by the central sapphire and which is firmly strung on a thread).³

8-9 (V. 6). In that family the primeval person (Viṣṇu) the cause of destruction of multitude of haughty daitya families took his incarnation; and kings of that family, whose fame and valour were pre-eminent, became known in the world as Tungas.

9-10 (V. 7). In that race was born Raṭṭa, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who destroyed the arrays of elephants

¹ *Kumuda*—‘night-lotus’, also punningly it means people. It is difficult to construe it with *kāṭi-pāla-vamśah*. However, it may be derived as: *kutsitā mud yeṣām te* meaning ‘common people’, or *kau (pṛthivyām) mud yeṣām te* meaning those who delight on the earth, ‘human beings.’ See *Mudrā-Rākṣasaṁ*, act IV-5. 9 “*Kaumudī kumud-ānande jagad-ānanda-hetunā*.”

² The attributes *vikāśana-para*, *kumud-āvali*, *doṣ-āndhakāra-da-lana*, *pari-pūrṇit-āsā*, and *Suddha-pakṣa* convey two meanings, one towards the kings and the other towards the moon.

³ The attributes—*adhigata*—*hari-nīla-prollasan-nāyakaśrīḥ*, and *asī-thīla*—*guna-saṁgah* convey two meanings one applicable to the family of Yadu and the other applicable to the necklace of pearls.

of his enemies ; and after him the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family became known in the world by the name of his son Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

10-14 (V. 8 and 9). In that family was born Dantidurga who was a sun to the fog in the form of the charming necklace on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who having broken the uneven ground (or fortresses) by a plough-share in the shape of his sword, made the whole earth a single field bounded by the shores of the four oceans. He plucked out from the surrounding water basin in the shape of the Cālukya family, the creeper in the form of supreme sovereignty, and planted it firmly in his own family sprinkling it with the water of the rut of his elephants so that it became dense and charming by its thick foliage, bearing abundant fruit, and capable of removing the fatigue of men resorting to it.

14-15 (V. 10). Thereafter king Kṛṣṇarāja, the paternal uncle, protected the earth. By his construction of temples of Īśvara, white as the clouds in autumn, the earth shines forever as if covered with many Kailāsa mountains.

15-17 (V. 11). A son by name Govindarāja was born to him. Devoted to pleasures he gave little attention to his kingdom ; and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama he relaxed his task as a ruler.

17-18 (V. 12). To him who was called Kali-vallabha and who was a sporting eastern mountain on which rose the moon in the shape of the triple umbrella,¹ was born Jagattunga, the lion, who overpowered the intoxicated elephants in the form of his enemies.

18-19 (V. 13). His son who was saluted by kings, and who oppressed the lord of serpents by the weight of his army, was Nṛpatungadeva, who in order to humble as it were the pride of Gods founded the city of Mānyakheta, which laughed in contempt at the capital of the Lord of Gods.

19-21 (V. 14). His son the truthful Kṛṣṇarāja was Lord of the earth for a long time,—he who terrified the Gurjara, who destroyed the excessive pride of prosperity entertained by the

¹ *Svet-ātapatra-tritaya* = the triple umbrella, the emblem of a *chakra-varīṇ*.

illustrious Lāṭa, who was the preceptor to initiate the Gaudas into the vow of humility, who deprived the people on the seashore (Sāmudra)¹ of their sleep, and whose command was honoured by the Aṅga, the Kāliṅga, the Gaṅga, and the Magadha kings waiting at his gate.

21 (V. 15). He had a son famous by the name Jagattunga, a moon to the eyes of women. Before he could ascend the throne he was taken to heaven by the creator at the request of the heavenly damsels.

22-23 (V. 16). His son Indrarāja protected the earth. The God of Love, for fear of indignity likely to be caused (in future) by his beauty, as it were, had his body reduced to ashes even before through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of Pināka-pāṇi, (Śiva).

23-24 (V. 17). From him was born Amoghavarṣa as Rāma was born of Daśaratha, the store-house of beauty, the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow.³

24-25 (V. 18). He having immediately, out of love for his father, gone to heaven, his younger brother of the famous name Govinda-rāja, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, ruled the earth.

25-26 (V. 19). He too with his intelligence caught in the net of the eyes of women, displeased all by taking to a vicious course his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of maladies (like the constituents⁴ of the body politic divided by the disaffection produced by his vices⁴), and his innate strength and spirit having cooled down he perished.

¹ *Sāmudra* means those born of the ocean, and hence people living on the sea-shore.

² God *Śiva* has in his hand a bow by name *Pināka*.

³ *Ravdra-dhamu* means a terrible bow, and also punningly the mighty bow *Śāṅkara* which was broken by *Rāma* at the *Svayamvara* of *Sītā*. the Breaking of a bow by Amoghavarṣa refers to his war with the Cera king, who had a bow for his emblem.

⁴ The attributes *doṣa-prakopa* and *tejas* are to be interpreted in two ways.

26-28 (V. 20). Then king Amoghavarṣa, the son of Jagat-tunga, the first among the wise, the ocean of nectar in the form of unfailing words, being entreated by the feudatories to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, and also sent by God Śiva (Pināka-pāṇi), who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari, ascended the glorious throne of a hero.

28-30 (V. 21). Round the broad space of whose forehead was tied the royal fillet by the friendly bordering princes in joy at the same time when by the (hostile) members of the circle of states were folded in awe their hands ; at the sight of his mounting on the back of impetuous and lordly elephants blind with rut, the hordes of his enemies, being panic-stricken, resorted to the mountains though (once intended) for sport.

30-31 (V. 22). A Manu he was in righteousness, a Kārtavīrya¹ in battle, a Bali² in valour, a Dilīpa in attracting the hearts of men ; though he acquired high and eternal fame his behaviour towards the elderly persons was humble out of modesty.

31-33 (V. 23). At the rise of whom, the moon in the sky of the family of Hari, signs of success that had before taken delight in the wicked persons by dint of the obsession of sin went over to the abodes of the meritorious, just as (women) marked by personal accomplishments³ that had formerly taken a fancy to stay with their paramours through the influence of darkness of night returned to the abodes of their husbands on the advent of the moon.

33-34 (V. 24). Obtaining whom, the association of Śrī and Sarasvatī that had long disappeared after the death of Sāha-sāṅka came into existence again.

34-35 (V. 25). How can one describe him (adequately) who was the store of merits ! O wonder ! he was observed in battle

¹ Kārtavīrya is the General of the Gods (*Senāni*).

² Bali could not be overpowered in fight by any God or Gods. *Vishṇu*, therefore, in the garb of a *brahmācārī* sent him to *patal* asking of him a gift of land three feet in measurement.

³ *Siddhyamjanah*, *doṣāṇdhakāra-valatah*, and *sva-svāminām* admit of two interpretations one applicable to the signs of success and the other to the adulterous women.

by the enemies whom he routed, while by him stood as his helper in the sky the moon-crested (Śiva) worshipped by the saluting Hari and Viriñci (Bramha).

35-36 (V. 26). From this supreme lord was born a son, the prosperous king Kṛṣṇa-rāja, who though young possessed enormous strength and became the lord (as Kārtikeya was born of Śiva, wielded a weapon¹—śakti—and was the lord of divine hosts).

36-37 (V. 27). By him, that had brought under his sway by his two arms the haughty Rāma, was vanquished Sahasrārjuna, though an elderly person in the family of his mother, whose thousand arms were (before i.e. in the Paraśu-Rāma incarnation period) lopped off by Rāma.

37-38 (V. 28). His enemies arrogantly tried to transgress his mighty command, which was the great protecting trench to the great city of the kingdom of the prosperous Rattas, and fell down themselves.

38-39 (V. 29). By this lord of greatness—Śri-Vallabha² were killed the wicked Dantiga and Vappuka, who seemed to be Madhu and Kaiṭabha risen again on earth to torment men.

39-40 (V. 30). Having uprooted the poisonous tree in the form of Rathyāmalla he planted in Gaṅgapāṭi,³ as in a garden the good tree in the form of Bhūtārya.

40-41 (V. 31). It is no wonder that his burning prowess which completely destroyed the multitude of Gaṅgas could parch up the fragrant sprouts in the form of Aṇṇiga.

41-42 (V. 32). Having received news of the conquest of all the strongholds in the South simply by the angry glance of his eyes the hopes about Kaliñjara and Citrakūṭa, vanished from the heart of the Gurjara.

¹ Kumāra, Śaktidhara, and Svāmin are the names of God Kārtikeya. These words can also be interpreted so as to be applicable to Kṛṣṇarāja.

² Śri-Vallabha punningly means Kṛṣṇa who killed Madhu and Kaiṭabha two demons.

³ Gaṅgapāṭi is Gaṅgavādi 12000 in Mysore territory.

42-43 (V. 33). The tributary princes from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himālayas to the Island of Sīmhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient to his father's commands.

43-44 (V. 34). By his body which had dark glossy colour, long arms, and a broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds which were the nectar water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man¹ (Viṣṇu), and knowing him to be able to sustain the heavy responsibility of supporting, the earth,² his father, the best of sages who had attained the object of life, vanished into the tranquil³ light.

45-46 (V. 35). When the festival of the coronation of this favourite of Lakṣmī who had greatly pleased Hari, at which celestial nymphs danced and heavenly ṛṣis pronounced benedictions, had taken place amidst great joy, damsels in the form of quarters who entertained love for him, who were desirous of surrendering themselves to him, and who trembled nervously when their hand was to be taken by him, welcomed that auspicious occasion.

46-48 (V. 36). He a powerful master of the science of politics, desirous of attaining a lofty position deprived some of his subordinate chiefs of their places, and established others who were deserving, separated some from each other by producing disunion and united others, and thus arranged them in a high or low position ; just as a proficient master of the science of words (grammar) desirous of building a good composition drops some letters from their position, introduces others in their guna form, separates some on account of their dissimilarity, unites others, and places them in various⁴ ways.

¹ *Puruṣottama* literally means an excellent man. It also means *Viṣṇu*.

² *Viśvambhar-ābhyuddhṛtau* refers to *Viṣṇu* also punningly as he lifted the earth in his third incarnation.

³ *Sānte dhāmini* means in the tranquil light, i.e., *Brahma*.

⁴ *Luptah, guṇabhṛtah, pratisthāpitah, anyonya-vibhedato, virahitāh, samślesitāh, uccāvacām, and siddhim padasy-ecchatā* can be interpreted in two ways so as to give meanings applicable to a politician and a grammarian.

48-50 (V. 37). Having, with the intention of subduing the Southern region, uprooted the race of Colas, devoted their lands towards the maintenance of his servants, and made the lords of great countries, viz., the Ceramma, the Pāṇḍya, and others along with the mighty Simhala, the tributaries, he erected a high column at Rāmeśvara, which was the image as it were of the sprout of the creeper in the shape of his glory.

50-53. And he, the great holy, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the prosperous Akālavarṣadeva, the lord of the earth, the prosperous Vallabha-narendradeva, who meditated on the feet of the great holy, the prosperous Amoghavarṣadeva, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, being happy, commands all the Governors of districts, heads of sub-divisions, village headmen, leading persons, officers and employees, so far as they may be concerned (with these gifts) :

53-62. Be it known to you that while my glorious army, that had conquered the western quarters was encamped at Melpāṭi, having uprooted the Cola, and having conquered the southern quarters, for the purpose of creating livings (maintenance) out of the countries of Simhala, Cola, and Cera, of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces, and of erecting temples of Kṛṣṇeśvara, which was like the mountain of his fame, and the temple of Gaṇḍa-mārtaṇḍa near the (Rāma) bridge¹ circle, and Kāla-priya-deva temple in the province of Kanci which were, expansive and curved, etc., eight hundred and eighty-two years of the Śaka king having elapsed on Wednesday the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the (cyclic) year Raudra and the constellation being Revatī, for the increase of merit and fame of my parents and of myself have I granted by way of concealed gift the village by name Rikkatī, whose boundaries are well-known ere now, one of the seven hundred villages situated in the district of Alatage along with the rows of trees in it, along with the assessment in grain and gold, * * * * * along with all the produce, to the celibate Govindabhaṭṭa, who is conversant in Veda

¹ *Setu-cakra* refers to the Bridge built by Rāma between India and Ceylon.

and Vedāṅga (who has gone to the other side of Veda and Vedāṅga), the son of Devabhaṭṭa, who was the son of Yautubhaṭṭa, who was the son of Rāmādevabhaṭṭa, of Attreyasa-gotra, and an emigrant from Kuregrāma¹ in the country of Karhāṭa. (The grant) is to be respected (i.e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure.

62-65. To the east of this village are Sirigrāma² and Māligrāma³ to the south Kodovali⁴ and Cīncavāṭa,⁵ to the west Yerurage⁶ and Choke,⁷ and to the north the village by name Muṇḍasage.⁸ No one should cause obstruction to Govindabhaṭṭa while he cultivates the village (lands of) Rikkaṭi defined by these four boundaries or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed. And he who causes obstruction will incur all the five great sins and the minor ones. It is said :—

65-66. He who grants lands, dwells in heaven for 60,000 years; but he, who takes it away, and he who abets the act, dwells as long in hell.

66-67. Those who take away land grants are born as black serpents living in dry hollows (of trees) in the wilderness of the Vindhya.

67. The earth was enjoyed by Sagara and others. To him will go the fruit (of the gift) whosoever masters the earth, at whatever time.

67-68. This is a common bridge of merit in the case of kings, (bridge of dānadharma with the help of which they can cross the worldly ocean), and (as such) it should be maintained by you. Thus does Rāmābhadrā often and often request all the kings to be.

(I am indebted to Profs. S. S. Sukhthankar and N. G. Shinde for the translation of some of the verses.)

¹ Koregaon.

² Sājani.

³ Mānagaon.

⁴ Paṭṭana Kodovali.

⁵ Cīncavāḍa.

⁶ Herle.

⁷ Cokāk.

⁸ Muḍasiṅge.

METEOROLOGY IN THE ṚG-VEDA

BY RAO SAHEB MUKUND V. UNAKAR

(Continued from Vol. 9, page 78.)

CHAPTER VI

AHIS AND VṚTRAS—ADVERSE DEMONS

(1) *Vṛtra—Encompassing Cloud.*—It has been mentioned before that adverse meteorological conditions were metaphorically supposed to have been caused by demons. By far the most important of the individual aerial demons of the Ṛg-Veda is Vṛtra who has sometimes the form of a serpent and whose name literally means encompasser, coverer, engulfer, encloser or a swallower of celestial waters. He is called rain-obstructor, rain-withholder and is said to lie beneath the feet of torrents which he encompasses by his greatness. The darkness is said to compass round him. The poet says “There darkness stood, the vault that stayed the waters’ flow ; in Vṛtra’s hollow side the rain cloud lay concealed, but Indra smote the rivers which the obstructor stayed, flood following after flood down steep declivities”. The rain-obstructor is said to be in mid-air’s lowest deep and from the lofty place above, Indra hurls Vṛtra down or, as is said in one stanza, shatters into pieces the broad massive cloud. Nothing availed this Vṛtra, neither lightning nor thunder nor hailstorm nor mist which he had spread round him in his fight with Indra. It will be seen that Vṛtra represents a dark overhanging cloud with which the sky is overcast. It is supposed that rain streams lie concealed above this cloud. Indra by his thunderbolt of lightning slays the demon and rain streams flow over the Earth.

(2) *Śambara—Water-Concealing Cloud.*—Another meteorological demon is Śambara. The word literally means water-concealer. He is frequently associated with mountain and represents a water-concealing cloud. Once he is connected with autumn.

Thus Indra discovered Śambara in the fortieth autumn as he dwelt among the mountains; he slew Śambara of the mountains, brought Śambara from the mountain down, smote Śambara from the lofty hill. He appears to represent a water-concealing cloud mountain which may lie against the horizon and obstruct light.

(3) *Arbuda—Water-Bearing Cloud.*—This demon is described as a watery monster. Indra draws forth the kine of guileful Arbuda from the mountains' hold, and brings down the dwelling place, the height of lofty Arbuda; once Indra is said to have pierced Arbuda with frost. Literally the word means water-giver or water-cutter.

(4) *Vala—Cloud-Rock or Cloud-Ridge.*—The word literally means covering or cave. He is a stable of cows or a guardian of clouds. He keeps the clouds confined in a cave which is said to be rich in cows or clouds. Indra rushing against the mountain broke the never-broken ridge of Vala. Vala stole the cows of the gods and hid them in a cave, that is, kept the light and waters imprisoned in dark clouds.

(5) *Śuṣṇa—Hissing and Scorching Wind.*—Etymologically the word means hisser or scorcher. He is interpreted as a personification of excessive heat before the rains. As there is a band of Maruts so there is a brood of Śuṣṇa. Indra with a roar that fills the woods forces down on the winds' head the stores which Śuṣṇa kept confined. He is a child of the mist, couched in darkness. Indra crushed with his bolt Śuṣṇa's quick moving castle of clouds. He is sometimes associated with Kuyava, the harvest spoiler. He would also represent the hissing winds which dry up crops.

(6) *Kuyava—Harvest Spoiler.*—Etymologically the word means causing bad corn or harvest. He is a harvest spoiler. He is said to cast foam amid the waters. The rivers delight him by bearing milk upon their waters. The foam and the milk appear to represent the thin layer of ice on the surface. The poet then asks for a share of sunlight which would melt the frost and requests Indra to do no harm to the yet unborn offspring not to rend the

apparently referring to the standing crops. The demon represents winter frost which spoils the yava (barley) crop and which is so detrimental even now to the wheat crop.

(7) *General Remarks.*—These are the principal meteorological demons ; there are others mentioned occasionally but not included here. The first four represent various kinds of clouds which obstruct the rains or light ; the fifth is a scorching wind while the sixth is a plague of harvest.

From the constant association of the cloud demons to mountains or caves or rocks or ridges, it appears that terrestrial mountains were not altogether absent from the minds of the poets. Even now rainfall in the Punjab hills is greater than rainfall in the Punjab plains due to clouds passing over the plains and rising against the hills. The mountains thus become the robbers of clouds or rain-streams. This phenomenon produces over the plains a thin overhanging film of vaporous cloud and fast-moving cloud rocks, or cloud ridges and cloud forts against the horizon, creating drought and obstructing light. Indra's connection with the release of the terrestrial rivers makes this inference about the association of the cloud mountains with terrestrial mountains in the minds of the poets, when they referred to these adverse demons, quite probable. It may be of interest to mention here that Śambara is still the name of a lake in the Aravalli hills and Arbuda is the Sanskrit name for Mount Abu. These hills also even now induce the monsoon rains towards their neighbourhood at the expense of the distant plains.

CHAPTER VII.

FAMINES.

(1) *Description of General Famine Conditions.*—Direct reference to famine occurs in about half a dozen places while references to indigence, poverty, destitution, hunger are not infrequent. Usurers are condemned. There are occasions when the distress due to famine seems to be considerable. Then the worshippers go to Indra as the only god who can show them grace, set them free from

misery and famine, deliver them from the dire curse and the darkening sorrow and succour them with his help. It is wished that they may subdue all famine and evil want with store of grain and cattle.

(2) *Prayers for Rain.*—Rainfall seems to have been ever present to the minds of the *R̥g-Vedic* poets, and prayers for rain are very frequent. Gods are asked to give the balmy rain and sweet plenteous food and to bedew their pasturage with the milk of heaven. Indeed the greatest achievement of the greatest of the *R̥g-Vedic* gods is rainfall and the greatest evil attributed to the greatest demon is his rain-withholding malignity. That drought conditions prevailed frequently in the Punjab is a proposition which does not admit of doubt.

(3) *The Twelve-Year Famine.*—Hymn 98 of Book X of the *R̥g-Veda* in which the gods are constantly requested to send down the celestial waters which stood obstructed in the firmament is said to have been based on a legend relating to a famine which lasted for twelve years. The legend is narrated in a treatise on Vedic deities written about 500 B.C., the date of the Vedic hymn being of course uncertain. Also Hymn 112 of Book IX is said to relate to the different occupations which people pursue in times of drought. Such legends indicate occasional occurrence of prolonged periods of distress due to droughts and famines. (See also Chapter IX.)

CHAPTER VIII.

RTUS—SEASONS.

(1) *Significance of the Word Rtu.*—The word used to denote the conception of the order of the world is *Rta*. It connects itself with the alternation of day and night, the regular passage of the sun through the heavens, or the unswerving motion of the rain in its fall from heaven and of the streams along their courses. Everything in the world which is concerned as showing regularity of action may be said to have *Rta* for its principle. The *Rtus* or the seasons were thus conceived of as phenomena which were marked by a distinct regularity of occurrence.

(2) *Number of Seasons in a Year—Three, Four, Five, Six.*—In later literature, as well as at places in the *R̥g-Veda*, the seasons

are said to be six in number being conveniently commensurate with twelve months of the year, each season extending over two months. Sometimes the seasons are said to be five, by combining the two whose characteristics might have appeared to be similar, or to be four of ninety days each. Also seasons are said to be three only. Traces of a division of the year into winter and summer do not appear clearly in the R̥g-Veda.

(3) *Names and Descriptions of the Seasons.*—*Rains, Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer.*—The Rainy season is the parent season—the most important of the seasons. Hymns to Parjanya or the rain-cloud god and the reference to frogs and springing up of vegetation leave no doubt as to the character of the season. It is connected with plenteous food and autumnal fruitage. The use of the word Śarad which means autumn as a designation of the year is common in the R̥g-Veda because it denotes harvest, a time of overwhelming importance to an agricultural people. The year is also designated by the word Hima which means winter. Winter is said to rob trees of their foliage and the poet is said to cleave close to the gods as to a cloak in winter. The rainy season, the autumn and the winter are the three seasons which are mentioned frequently and with any characteristic attributes. The word for spring occurs only twice in the collection and the word for summer only once without any distinctive attributes. The hymns in which they occur are also later hymns. The word used in the later literature or the dewy season which is the sixth season of the year between winter and spring does not occur in the R̥g-Veda though references to dews are frequent. An apparent conclusion seems to be that winter, rains and autumn are the three seasons which attracted the notice of the R̥g-Vedic Indians.

(4) *Meteorological Significance of the Changes in the Number of the Seasons.*—The growth of the divisions of the seasons from three to five is suggestive of climatic fluctuations; also certain hymns which ignore winter and insist on rains indicate a different place and time of origin from those which refer to winter conditions. To the west of the Punjab and round the frontier hills winter rains are more important, while in the south-east Punjab the monsoon rains are equally valuable and autumns acquire a distinct characteristic. For other seasons there is no distinctive difference between

the weather of the west and the east Punjab. In the west Punjab the distinctive seasons are winter and summer ; in the east Punjab the rainy and autumn seasons are equally important. Thus the change in the number of seasons may be due to the changes in the localities on present climatic basis. This does not however preclude the probability of real climatic changes during R̥g-Vedic period.

(5) *Meteorological Significance of the Frequent Occurrence of the Phrases "Hundred Winters" and "Hundred Autumns"*.—These expressions occur frequently in connection with long life and prosperity, both being synonymous with the actual span of life of hundred years. Thus the poets wish that they may live a hundred autumns or hundred winters. It has been held by some that the phrase hundred winters refers to hymns which are earlier in point of time and hundred autumns to hymns of later period and that the prevailing climate of the Punjab was cold at first but changed later to conditions under which autumn was of importance. Most of these references have been collected together and it is found that the phrase hundred autumns occurs some 16 times and hundred winters about 14 times. The former occurs some 8 times in Books I and X, and the latter 7 times in Book VI. Autumns are connected indiscriminately with all gods, while winters are connected 7 times with Agni. There appears to be some slight justification for the association of winters with an earlier period, which supports the inference about climatic changes during R̥g-Vedic age deduced in Chapter IX. It is natural that an agricultural community would wish to live to eat the fruits of their agricultural labours, and the phrases probably refer to the winter crops and the rainy season crops, being used in the hymns in accordance with their relative importance in sequence of time and change in locality.

CHAPTER IX.

SOME METEOROLOGICAL FEATURES OF PRESENT CLIMATIC CONDITIONS AND REMARKS ON A POSSIBLE DEDUCTION OF A CHANGE OF CLIMATE FROM THE R̥G-VEDA.

For a meteorological purpose the region of the seven rivers may be represented by Peshawar, Lahore and Ambala ; November to April may be called winter and May to October summer. The

outstanding feature of present meteorology of the Punjab regions is the recurrence of winter precipitation as well as monsoon rainfall. Winter precipitation amounts to about 58 per cent. of the total annual rainfall at Peshawar, to about 19 per cent. at Lahore and to about 18 per cent. at Ambala. At Peshawar there are 16 rainy days in winter and 10 rainy days in the monsoon season, the respective days for Lahore and Ambala being 9 and 19 and 12 and 31 respectively. It is clear that winter precipitation is a predominant feature in the west, and monsoon precipitation in the east of the Punjab. The incidence of periodic rainfall from year to year is more irregular during winter than during summer. Average wind velocity is generally low with a tendency to less winds in winter than in the monsoon. There are only 3 days in the year when the velocity of the winds exceeds twice the normal amount at Peshawar, 15 such days at Lahore and 59 at Ambala. There are about 27 thunderstorms in a year at Lahore; they are more frequent in the monsoon than in winter, being about 3 to 5 in the mid-monsoon month and about 1 in the mid-winter month. A thunderstorm gives about an inch of rain on an average. So far as actual temperature effects are concerned there are no very striking differences between the west and the east Punjab. Conditions are favourable for the formation of frost in December and January and more so in the west than in the east of the region. It is curious that no prominence is given in the *Ṛg-Veda* to actual dust-storm descriptions which are numerous under present climatic conditions. The existence of immense forests is significant in this connection.

These features of the present climatic conditions can be seen more or less in the *Ṛg-Vedic* descriptions of various deities, but their historical sequence described in Chapter III, (5) and (6), and their relative importance in the *Ṛg-Veda* suggest climatic changes during the period of its composition. Such changes cannot be explained as will be presently seen, by assuming different localities as the places of composition of various hymns. Nor can, as has already been observed in the last paragraph of Chapter V, (6), the small changes in the surface configurations of rivers, sea and desert explain them. For their explanation, therefore, other sources may now be considered.

be due to cycles extending over long periods of the order of several centuries, a certain set of climatic features prevailing over a set of years in the neighbourhood of the crest of the periodic curve, and meteorologically opposite features prevailing over another set of years in the neighbourhood of the trough of the periodic curve. The period of composition of the Rg-Vedic hymns also extends over several centuries. If these long-period climatic changes do really exist, the apparent differences in the Rg-Vedic descriptions can be explained on this basis. On the one hand the long-period theory would explain the Rg-Vedic climatic differences, while on the other the Rg-Vedic climatic differences would strengthen the validity of an assumption of long-period climatic cycles in meteorological phenomena. Thus the Rg-Veda and the theory of long-period cycles mutually support each other.

This theory of periodic fluctuations in climate offers an opportunity for building up climatic curves from older traditions and literary records and from migrations of people and the waxing and waning of civilisation which may be supposed to have been due to climatic reasons. In '*Climate through the Ages*',¹ Dr. C. E. P. Brooks discusses climatic fluctuations and builds up climatic curves for the last 7,000 years over Europe and Western Asia. He finds that conditions of maximum wetness existed about 5000 B.C. and changed from wet to dry from 5000 B.C. to about 2000 B.C. when maximum dryness prevailed. Another such wave, disregarding the minor fluctuations, followed between this date and 500 A.D., maximum conditions of wetness having occurred about 800 B.C. and of dryness about 2000 B.C. and 500 A.D. During this whole period he regards the geographical factors of climate as remaining practically constant and the probable source of climatic changes is sought for in variations of solar radiation. The curve of wetness in Asia agrees closely with that of Europe and considering that they are based on entirely different and independent data the measure of agreement points to widespread climatic changes. It should be remembered in this connection that, so far as the Punjab is concerned, this agreement might refer principally to winter conditions.

The R̥g-Vedic evidence for such climatic fluctuations may now be discussed. The meteorological conditions described in the R̥g-Veda point to three distinct periods. The first period is dominated by Varuṇa when rains were more or less peaceful in their incidence, unassociated with lightning and thunder, and were probably regularly distributed throughout the year. This was also a period of cold weather, generally, when the cult of domestic fire worship existed and the Sun was a beneficent deity. The second period is dominated by the Maruts or the storm gods when winter depressions gave copious rains for prolonged periods. The third and the last period was dominated by Indra who had to fight against all adverse conditions of climate, including droughts, and when monsoon rains, as exemplified in Parjanya, were a feature of the Punjab climatology. It is probably because of his being the last in the sequence that Indra is so often thought of in the R̥g-Veda. Thus during the R̥g-Vedic period, a period of little climatic fluctuations was followed by a period of wetness, and this in its turn was followed by a subsequent period of dryness.

In Brooks's climatic curves the change from wet to dry occurred between 850 B.C. to 500 A.D. and from 5000 B.C. to 2000 B.C. Now there is overwhelming evidence in Sanskrit literature to show that the codification of the R̥g-Veda took place long before the commencement of the Christian era ; under the circumstances, the composition of the R̥g-Veda must have taken place not from 850 B.C. to 500 A.D., but from 5000 B.C. to 2000 B.C., as exemplified in the transition from the Maruts or winter depressional storms to droughts and dryness connoted by Indra, and must have extended to earlier periods, as exemplified in Varuṇa who was one of the oldest of the R̥g-Vedic gods and belonged to the Indo-Iranian period.

As Brooks's climatic curves are derived from independent sets of data and as the climatic sequence in the R̥g-Veda supports the realities of the fluctuations exhibited in the curves, the correspondence between the two is noteworthy. Incidentally it may be inferred that the evidence of the climatic changes would place the date of composition of the R̥g-Vedic hymns to a period extending from 2000 B.C. to about 5000 B.C. or earlier. It remains to be seen whether indications of the wet period about 800 B.C. and the

dry period about 500 A.D. are found in the later Vedas and in later Sanskrit literature.

The interest of this paper lies in the antiquity of the data, in their interpretation, and in the sifting for meteorological purposes of a large amount of Rg-Vedic literature.

The meteorological deductions refer to the modern Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province and the seat of meteorological activity is said to be the middle regions of the firmament with the earth at the bottom and the heavens at the top. The Rg-Vedic hymns contain meteorological information expressed in metaphorical language.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to Mr. D. Sankara Narayanan of the Library Section of the Indian Meteorological Department, Poona, for the assistance he has given me in the verification of the Rg-Vedic stanzas in the Appendix from the original Sanskrit text and in the revision of the first draft of this paper. My thanks are also due to the scholars who have kindly gone over my draft copy and given me their remarks or criticisms.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF RG-VEDIC METEOROLOGY.

(1) In the Rg-Veda expression is given to regularity in periodic meteorological phenomena with a reference to comparatively peaceful precipitation in descriptions of Varuṇa.

(2) The story of the Maruts or the depressional storms now called western disturbances is written with some minuteness and shows a keen perception of meteorological phenomena. The depressional storms are preceded by a red glow in the sky covered with cloud patches, are accompanied with lightning, thunder, destructive winds and copious rains, and are characterised by a rotatory motion and motion of translation from west to east.

(3) The first burst of the monsoon (Parjanya) is characteristic, being accompanied by thunder, lightning and some wind, and

followed by the springing up of vegetation which is the food of living beings.

(4) Droughts with overcast skies appear to have been of frequent occurrence and were brought to an end by Indra through some sort of lightning influence after a strenuous meteorological conflict giving rise to rains and river floods.

(5) Chronologically the peaceful and regular periodic incidence of meteorological phenomena appear to have been followed by their irregular incidence.

(6) At first depressional storms mostly of the winter type were all-important. Later, descriptions of struggle against drought and acquisition of rain became prominent.

(7) Sunshine was desired rather than disliked ; it is said to be beneficent and not maleficent.

(8) Fire is said to be omnipresent and, with the waters, is conceived as one of the principal factor of generation ; in the form of lightning it is instrumental in the production of rain. It is the centre of domestic life and recalls the drawing-room fireside of cold countries.

(9) The force of the monsoonal winds is conspicuous by its absence except in connection with the first burst of the monsoon, indicating the occurrence of rainfall only in connection with thunder-storms and depressional storms.

(10) The initial red glow of the sky is associated with the subsequent destructive agency of lightning.

(11) The importance of the regular recurrence of the seasons is indicated by their being personified and honoured as deities.

(12) The commingling of light and water in the firmament is expressed in various ways and an afternoon rainbow is one of the consequences.

(13) There is a slight justification for believing that lunar effects on the production of rainfall were occasionally present in the minds of the Rg-Vedic poets.

(14) The graceful and descriptive lyrics in connection with Dawn are of some importance to atmospheric optics ; her connection

with variegated clouds, misty skies, morning dews and watery regions of the firmament is of meteorological interest.

(15) Twilight or possibly Zodiacal light is connected with fresh and sweet and nourishing morning dews.

(16) The waters are deified and appear to be of primary importance, explaining the frequent occurrence of prayers for rainfall and the inclusion of much meteorological matter in these religious and sacrificial hymns.

(17) Rivers were also deified ; Sarasvati was a mighty river ; they were not easily fordable ; they started from the mountains, speeding on to the ocean ; rainfall was rare in the desert, and springs in the desert were fully appreciated.

(18) The Rg-Vedic flora and fauna may indicate climatic conditions. The country was covered with immense forests and forest conflagrations were frequent. Agriculture was known and both the winter and the monsoon crops appear to have been raised. Good pasture lands were desired, and herds of cows and horses had value ; the tiger was unknown and the elephant was a strange creature.

(19) Adverse meteorological factors took the form of overhanging cloud sheets or cloud masses unproductive of rain, or scorching or hissing winds, or harvest spoiling frosts.

(20) Famines were not infrequent ; they caused considerable distress and necessitated storage of grain.

(21) Descriptions of seasons are not striking ; their number is variable, being three, four, five or six ; rains, winter and autumn are mentioned frequently, while spring is mentioned only twice and summer only once. An indefinite number for the seasons and a frequent designation of the year by winter have led some to postulate a change in climate during the Rg-Vedic age.

(22) From the foregoing description it is possible to deduce : (1) clouded skies with occasional thunderstorm rains in the monsoon season, (2) fairly frequent droughts, scarcity and occasional famines, (3) predominance of winter rains and prevalence during winter of greater amount of rainfall and colder conditions, (4) frequent

dew with occasional frost, (5) indistinctness of spring and (6) less severe summers, during the R̥g-Vedic age. The period of several centuries which is covered by the composition of these hymns is so extensive that any long-period climatic changes would introduce such irregularities in the descriptions. Curves of such climatic changes as given by Brooks in his '*Climate through the Ages*' accord with R̥g-Vedic descriptions and it has been deduced that the period of composition would extend from about 2000 B.C. to about 5000 B.C. or earlier.

APPENDIX

R̥G-VEDIC REFERENCES WITH A TABLE OF CONTENTS

The appendix contains a list of R̥g-Vedic stanzas which have been utilised in writing the text. The stanzas appropriate to each paragraph are enumerated under the heading which specifies it and these may be considered to be my authority for the views contained in that paragraph.

2. In the references, the first figure represents the number of the book or 'Maṇḍala', the second figure represents the number of the hymn or 'Sūkta' and the third figure represents the number of the stanza or 'R̥K'. It should be noted that the eleven Vāḷakhilya hymns which occur in some editions after hymn number 48 of the eighth book are excluded from the serial numbering adopted here so that hymns numbered 49 to 92 in these references correspond to hymns numbered 60 to 103 of the other edition.

3. Meteorological matter is scattered haphazard throughout the R̥g-Vedic compilation and the present work consists mainly in selecting suitable R̥g-Vedic references, in classifying them under principal meteorological events, and in presenting a connected thesis on R̥g-Vedic Meteorology. The difficulty of selection is enhanced by the great variety in the mode of presentation of the same theme by various R̥g-Vedic poets and by the metaphorical language of the R̥g-Veda. In a preliminary work of this kind these circumstances have led me to give a fairly large number of references even at the risk of redundancy. Thus in some places a whole meteorological idea in the text would be expressed by more than one stanza while at other places the idea would be fitly expressed by a portion of the stanza only; occasionally the R̥g-Vedic stanza though apparently unintelligible by itself would be found to give the proper meaning if interpreted with reference to the R̥g-Vedic context. Generally my interpretations are supported by notes on the stanzas by one or other of the European Vedic scholars.

4. In spite of these difficulties it will be found that the meteorological idea contained in a paragraph is supported by the collective evidence of the R̥g-Vedic references pertaining to that paragraph; and it is hoped that the paper as a whole will be found to represent correctly the meteorological features of the Punjab area as obtained from the R̥g-Vedic references. It is also hoped that Meteorologists will have little difficulty in appreciating the phenomena which are expressed in modern meteorological language and in following my views and conclusions.

CHAPTER I.—PREFACE.

- (1) Interest of the work.
- (2) Sources of information.
- (3) Arrangement adopted.
- (4) Limits of inquiry and lines of further work.

CHAPTER II.—INTRODUCTION.

- (1) Extent of the R̥g-Veda.
- (2) Antiquity of the R̥g-Veda. (6.21.5) (3.32.13) (5.31.6) (7.29.4) (10.92.10).
- (3) Geographical limits of the R̥g-Veda. (*See Chapter V 6 infra.*)
- (4) General nature of R̥g-Vedic Gods.
- (5) R̥g-Vedic cosmogony. (8.10.6) (7.6.7) (1.124.5) (8.89.9) (10.158.1) (1.139.11) (10.121.5).
- (6) R̥g-Vedic cosmology. (4.56.3) (10.121.1) (10.121.7) (10.123.1) (1.164.35) (1.164.50) (10.90.8).
- (7) Nature of R̥g-Vedic data.
- (8) Meteorological metaphors of the R̥g-Veda. (8.89.9) (5.31.3) (1.164.41) (1.164.42) (10.73.9) (1.64.5) (5.85.4) (8.7.10) (7.64.1) (3.55.17) (3.55.13) (8.32.25) (1.51.4) (1.11.5) (1.32.11) (1.32.8) (2.17.1) (4.1.15) (8.7.7) (1.131.4) (9.108.6) (2.19.3) (6.17.6) (6.66.1) (1.166.6) (5.62.7) (8.33.11) (4.3.7) (5.54.12) (1.168.8) (1.79.2) (1.37.10) (6.66.10) (1.157.4) (5.77.3) (4.45.3) (3.62.16) (7.64.1) (5.62.4).

CHAPTER III.—PRINCIPAL METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

- (1) Varuna—The encompassing sky.
 - A Connection with all-pervading law. (1.25.10) (1.25.11) (7.34.11) (6.70.1) (1.24.10) (1.25.9) (1.25.7) (1.25.8) (7.66.11) (5.66.1).
 - B Connection with waters and water vapour. (1.161.14) (9.73.3) (2.38.8) (9.90.2) (5.85.6) (2.28.4) (1.184.3) (7.64.1) (5.62.4) (5.85.3) (5.85.4) (7.62.5) (3.62.16) (8.25.6) (7.65.4) (8.58.12).
 - C Connection with regular and periodic rains. (5.62.3) (7.64.2) (5.63.1) (5.63.2) (5.63.3) (5.63.4) (5.63.5) (5.63.6) (5.63.7).
 - D Chronological position of Varuna. (5.62.4) (1.184.3).
 - E Meteorological interpretation of Varuna.
- (2) Maruts—Depressional storms.
 - A Birth and Precursors. (5.52.16) (2.34.2) (1.168.9) (8.83.1) (8.83.2) (3.26.4) (1.39.6) (8.7.28) (5.58.7) (1.134.4).
 - B Connection with lightning and thunder. (6.66.2) (1.172.1) (8.7.25) (1.168.5) (1.37.2) (1.23.12) (1.168.8).
 - C Connection with winds. (8.7.3) (6.66.10) (1.23.11) (10.78.3) (5.56.3).
 - D Connection with rain. (1.64.11) (1.19.7) (1.87.2) (1.38.9) (5.59.5) (5.54.3) (1.85.5) (5.55.5) (1.37.10) (1.37.11) (8.7.10) (1.168.3) (5.53.6) (6.49.11).

- E Connection with destruction. (8.7.4) (1.39.5) (1.64.7)
(1.166.5) (1.39.3) (7.56.9) (5.54.6) (7.57.4) (1.166.6).
 - F Revolving motion. (5.58.5) (8.7.35) (5.59.6) (8.20.14)
(10.78.4) (5.53.11) (7.56.3).
 - G Motion of Translation. (5.52.3) (5.55.1) (2.34.5) (8.20.18)
(5.54.10) (6.66.7) (5.59.2) (7.56.2) (5.61.1) (1.167.2)
(8.20.1) (8.7.7) (5.53.8).
 - H Western origin. (5.53.9) (10.78.6) (8.20.24) (5.52.9)
(8.20.25) (8.20.26) (8.83.12) (5.58.8) (5.55.7) (8.7.14)
(5.56.4) (8.7.5) (8.7.34).
 - I Meteorological interpretation of the Maruts. (5.53.1).
- (3) Parjanya—Rain-cloud.
- A Description and Association. (5.83.1) (5.83.5) (1.164.51)
(5.53.6) (1.38.9) (7.101.4) (5.83.8) (7.36.3) (5.83.3)
(5.83.7) (5.83.10) (7.103.1) (7.103.9) (5.83.9) (5.83.2)
(7.101.3) (5.83.10).
 - B After effects of Parjanya rain. (5.83.4) (7.103.3) (7.103.7)
 - C Connection with gods of European countries.
 - D Meteorological interpretation of Parjanya.
- (4) Indra—The successful fighter.
- A Necessity of Indra.
 - B The great mythical fight with the demons. (1.32.11) (1.32.1)
(1.52.8) (6.24.6) (1.80.4) (1.80.5) (1.32.7) (6.25.4)
(10.112.8) (2.11.6).
 - C The fight against adverse meteorological factors—cloud moun-
tains, cloud rocks, cloud forts. (2.11.9) (1.133.6) (2.11.5)
(1.57.6) (6.17.5) (8.53.5) (1.80.8) (3.54.20) (8.1.28)
(2.14.6) (5.32.1) (1.57.2) (6.39.2) (8.85.2) (1.51.4)
(1.174.2) (1.131.4) (7.19.5) (2.19.6).
 - D Release of rain streams. (4.17.2) (4.19.7) (1.61.10) (1.10.7)
(6.17.5) (6.43.3) (5.30.4) (8.32.25).
 - E Release of light beams. (8.78.4) (2.19.3) (1.52.8) (1.51.4)
(6.32.2) (6.17.5) (6.17.6) (4.16.9).
 - F Release of river floods. (4.19.8) (10.111.9) (10.111.10)
(5.32.2) (3.33.6) (10.89.7) (1.32.12) (2.12.12) (1.32.2)
(2.19.3) (1.32.1) (4.17.1) (6.32.5) (8.85.1) (8.85.2)
(8.85.18).
 - G Help in earthly battles. (3.34.9) (1.130.8) (10.42.4) (6.46.11)
(7.30.3).
 - H Indra's appearance and power. (10.96.3) (10.96.4) (10.22.5)
(3.30.5) (6.24.7) (1.80.15) (2.12.2) (2.17.5) (10.44.8)
(2.12.3).

- I Indra the supreme God of R̥g-Vedic Indians. (7.32.16) (10.47.8).
- J Meteorological interpretation of Indra.
- (5) Indra-Varuṇa—change in their relative importance during the R̥g-Vedic age.
- A Historical account.
- B Account in R̥g-Vedic hymns of rivalry and adjustment. (4.42.2) (4.42.4) (4.42.5) (4.42.6) (4.42.7) (10.124.3) (10.124.4) (10.124.5) (7.82.5) (7.82.6) (7.83.9).
- C Meteorological interpretation of the accounts. (10.75.2) (3.33.6).
- (6) Indra-Maruts—change in their relative importance during the R̥g-Vedic age.
- A Accounts in R̥g-Vedic hymns of their friendship and rivalry. (5.42.6) (1.52.15) (5.30.6) (3.32.4) (10.73.1) (1.100.3) (1.101.2) (5.31.10) (8.85.7) (1.170.2) (1.170.5) (1.171.4) (1.171.6) (1.165.6) (1.165.7) (1.165.8) (1.165.9) (1.165.11) (1.166.12).
- B Meteorological interpretation of the account

CHAPTER IV.—MINOR METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

- (1) Savitar-Sūrya—the Sun-God.
- A General nature: Connection with heat, cold and waters. (7.63.4) (1.86.10) (3.23.4) (10.70.1) (9.107.20) (10.59.5) (10.37.10) (9.4.6) (8.18.9) (6.59.8) (5.44.7) (6.15.5) (7.34.19) (6.16.38) (2.33.6) (8.12.9) (4.53.5) (2.38.2) (1.164.7) (4.38.10) (1.164.47) (3.33.6).
- B Meteorological remarks.
- (2) Agni—God of Fire and Light.
- A Sacrificial importance. (7.11.3) (4.8.4) (4.2.3) (8.49.1) (10.2.4) (6.13.1) (2.6.5) (10.88.10) (3.27.9) (10.91.6) (1.70.2).
- B Triple character. (5.3.1) (5.13.6) (3.26.7) (10.45.1) (10.7.3) (5.3.3) (3.29.11) (1.95.3) (8.43.28) (10.91.5) (10.8.1) (1.39.9) (9.76.3) (9.100.3) (1.116.12) (1.79.2) (2.1.1) (3.1.12) (10.45.3) (10.30.4) (8.44.16) (7.94.1) (6.59.2) (10.32.6) (8.38.2).
- C Connection with the seasons. (1.95.3) (10.2.1) (10.2.3) (3.20.4) (5.12.3).
- D Domestic connections. (7.15.2) (6.48.8) (10.91.2) (2.4.3) (5.18.1) (10.127.6) (10.88.6) (10.7.3) (1.75.4) (1.31.1) (1.71.10) (3.1.15) (5.8.2) (10.46.3) (7.9.3).
- E Meteorological remarks.

Vāyu-Vāta—the Wind God.

- A General character. (10.168.3) (10.168.4) (10.168.1)
 (10.97.13) (7.35.4) (1.135.9) (1.134.3) (4.46.1) (1.122.3)
 (1.134.4) (2.11.14) (6.49.6) (7.40.6) (5.83.4) (4.17.12).
 B Allusion to two winds. (10.137.2) (10.136.5) (2.39.5).
 C Meteorological remarks.

(4) Rudra—The ruddy roarer of heaven.

- A General character. (1.114.6) (1.43.5) (1.114.5) (1.114.8)
 (1.114.10) (1.114.11) (2.33.14) (6.28.7) (1.114.9) (2.33.1)
 (2.33.12) (2.33.13).
 B Meteorological remarks.

(5) Ṛbhus and the Seasons.

- A General remarks. (1.15) (6.52.10) (4.51.6) (4.34.2) (1.110.4)
 (4.36.4) (4.33.7) (1.161.11) (4.34.9) (4.36.3) (1.111.1).

(6) Miscellaneous deities connected with fire, water and their mingling.

- A Mātariśvan—Celestial carrier of fire or light. (3.9.5) (1.143.2)
 (1.141.3).
 B Trita Āptya—Watery third-fire. (5.9.5) (1.105.9) (8.12.16)
 C Ahiṛbudhnya—Dragon of the Deep. (7.34.16) (7.34.17).
 D Apāmnāpāt—Child of the waters. (10.30.4) (2.35.3) (2.35.4)
 (1.95.4) (1.95.5).
 E Gandharva-Vena—Rainbow or cloud spirit. (10.123.1)
 (10.123.2) (10.123.5) (10.123.7) (10.123.8) (8.66.5).
 F Dadhikra—Divine horse of the morning sun. (4.39.1) (4.39.3)
 (3.20.1) (7.44.4).

CHAPTER V.—QUASI—METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

(1) Soma—The drink of the gods.

Terrestrial Soma, Celestial Soma, Moon-God. (9.109.15) (9.104.5)
 (9.88.6) (9.103.3) (9.114.2) (9.113.3) (9.110.8) (1.80.2)
 (9.38.5) (9.3.7) (9.41.3) (9.39.2) (9.74.7) (9.97.17) (9.108.10)
 (9.27.5) (9.85.9) (10.85.2) (9.79.4) (1.91.22) (9.64.8) (9.69.5)
 (9.97.9).

(2) Indra-Soma: Their connection. (9.23.7) (1.80.2) (8.81.5) (3.43.7)
 (10.119.2) (9.86.22) (6.34.4) (9.37.3) (1.91.21) (9.87.9)
 (9.108.6).

(3) Uṣas—Dawn. (4.52.2) (5.59.8) (1.124.5) (6.64.4) (10.110.6)
 (7.75.7) (3.61.5) (4.30.9) (4.30.10) (10.138.5) (2.15.6).

(4) Aśvins—Twin heralds of Dawn. (7.72.5) (4.43.5) (4.45.2)
 (1.22.1) (8.22.1) (4.45.4) (1.157.5) (4.45.3) (10.40.6) (8.9.5)
 (10.39.3) (1.22.3).

- (5) Āpaḥ—Waters. (7.49.2) (10.111.8) (7.47.4) (10.17.10) (1.23.21)
(10.137.6) (6.50.7) (1.23.18).
- (6) Rivers: with incidental reference to mountain, sea and desert.
(10.75.5) (10.75.6) (10.75.8) (6.61.14) (6.61.8) (6.61.2)
(7.95.1) (8.47.11) (8.72.3) (3.33.9) (3.33.1) (3.33.2) (10.75.2)
(3.33.6) (3.54.20) (5.61.19) (10.121.4) (10.69.6) (7.34.23)
(7.95.2) (1.71.7) (18.16.2) (8.6.4) (1.116.3) (1.116.4) (1.116.5)
(7.88.3) (10.47.2) (1.25.7) (8.64.9) (10.63.10) (10.101.2)
(5.53.6) (4.17.2) (4.19.7) (4.33.7) (5.83.10) (1.38.7) (10.4.1)
(6.34.4) (5.36.1) (10.86.20) (1.35.8).
- (7) Forests—Fields—Animals. (10.146.6) (10.146.5) (6.60.10)
(10.142.4) (1.58.5) (4.4.4) (8.60.12) (4.57.7) (4.57.3) (4.57.8)
(10.101.3) (10.34.13) (10.26.3) (10.43.7) (1.117.21) (3.52.8)
(10.94.13) (8.66.6) (10.169.1) (6.28.7) (1.29.6).

CHAPTER VI.—ĀHIS AND VṚTRAS—ADVERSE DEMONS.

- (1) Vṛtra—Encompassing cloud. (6.20.2) (4.19.2) (2.14.2) (1.32.8)
(10.113.6) (1.54.10) (1.32.10) (1.32.11) (1.51.4) (1.52.6)
(8.3.19) (1.57.6) (1.32.13) (4.19.3).
- (2) Śambara—Water concealing cloud. (2.12.11) (6.26.5) (1.130.7)
(2.14.6) (4.30.14) (3.47.4).
- (3) Arbuda—Water bearing cloud. (10.67.12) (8.3.19) (8.32.3)
(2.14.4) (8.32.26).
- (4) Vala—Cloud rock or cloud ridge. (10.67.6) (1.11.5) (3.30.10)
(2.14.3) (6.39.2).
- (5) Śuṣṇa—Hissing and scorching wind. (8.40.10) (8.40.11)
(1.54.5) (4.30.13) (5.32.4) (8.1.28) (2.19.6) (4.16.12).
- (6) Kuyava—Harvest spoiler. (1.104.3) (1.104.4) (1.104.6)
(1.104.8).
- (7) General remarks.

CHAPTER VII.—FAMINES.

- (1) Descriptions of general famine conditions. (8.18.11) (3.8.2)
(3.53.15) (1.38.6) (3.16.5) (7.1.22) (7.1.19) (1.53.4) (10.33.2)
(8.67.10) (8.55.10) (8.55.14) (8.55.15) (10.42.10) (10.43.10)
(10.44.10).
- (2) Prayers for rain. (5.63.4) (6.70.5) (6.70.6) (7.64.2) (7.65.4)
(7.101.1) (8.7.13) (8.25.6) (9.39.2) (9.49.3) (9.65.24) (9.97.17)
(9.106.9) (1.85.11).
- (3) The Twelve-year Famine. (10.98.1) (10.98.4) (10.98.8)
(10.98.10) (10.98.12) (9.112.1) (9.112.2) (9.112.3) (9.112.4).

CHAPTER VIII.—ṚTUS—SEASONS.

- (1) Significance of the word Ṛtu. (10.190.1) (10.190.2) (10.190.3)
(7.66.11) (1.105.16) (4.53.7) (1.95.3) (10.85.18) (1.25.8)
(1.105.12) (3.20.4).

- (2) Number of seasons in a year.—Three, four, five, six. (1.164.15)
(8.57.14) (1.23.15) (1.164.11) (1.164.12) (1.164.13) (3.55.18)
(1.155.6) (1.164.2) (1.164.48) (3.56.3).
- (3) Names and descriptions of the seasons.
Rains, autumn, winter, spring, summer. (2.13.1) (7.103.9)
(7.103.10) (7.37.7) (1.173.3) (10.68.10) (1.34.1) (10.161.4)
(10.90.6).
- (4) Meteorological significance of the changes in the number of the seasons.
- (5) Meteorological significance of the frequent occurrence of the phrases
“Hundred winters” and “Hundred autumns”. (1.64.14)
(2.33.2) (5.54.15) (6.48.8) (1.73.9) (2.1.11) (6.4.8) (6.10.7)
(6.13.6) (6.17.15) (6.24.10) (9.74.8) (10.161.4) (6.12.6)
(7.101.6) (10.161.2) (10.161.3) (10.161.4) (1.89.9) (10.18.4)
(2.27.10) (3.36.10) (7.61.2) (7.66.16) (10.85.39) (6.47.17)
(1.179.1) (7.37.7) (1.86.6) (6.24.7).

CHAPTER IX.—SOME METEOROLOGICAL FEATURES OF PRESENT CLIMATIC
CONDITIONS AND REMARKS ON A POSSIBLE DEDUCTION OF A
CHANGE OF CLIMATE FROM THE R̥G-VEDA.

CHAPTER X.—CONCLUDING REMARKS ON PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF R̥G-
VEDIC METEOROLOGY.

SOME EARLY RECORDS ON BOMBAY

By D. B. DISKALKAR

The acquisition of Bombay by the English from the Portuguese, based on article eleven of the treaty of marriage dated the 23rd of June 1661, between the King of Great Britain Charles II and the Infanta of Portugal, D. Catherina, sister of the King of Portugal D. Alfonso VI, forms one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of Bombay. The importance of such a magnificent natural harbour as Bombay can best be appreciated by a maritime people like the British and as early as 1625 A.D. the English cast a glance on Bombay which was then in the possession of the Portuguese who had obtained it from the Sultan of Gujarat on the 23rd of December 1534. Accordingly with the Dutch aid they invaded the island on the 13th of October 1626 and pillaged the town and set fire to the Great House and Castle of the Portuguese.¹ But suddenly they abandoned the place for fear of being surprised by the Portuguese. In 1640 Bombay is mentioned as the best place on the Western India Coast for a Station of the East India Company. Oliver Cromwell during the protectorate in 1645 attempted to get possession of it. And in 1659, only two years before the abovementioned treaty of marriage was signed, the Surat Council had recommended to the Directors of the East India Company that an application should be made to the King of Portugal to cede them some place on the West Coast, Danda Rajapuri, Bombay or Versova.²

In accordance with the treaty of marriage the English King Charles II despatched in March 1662 a fleet of five men of war, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough. He also appointed Sir Abraham Shipman as Governor of the island and entrusted five hundred troops under his command. The English fleet arrived in Bombay on the 18th of September and demanded the cession of the island and its dependencies. But the Portuguese Governor

¹ *Origin of Bombay* by Dr. J. G. Da Cunha, *JBBRAS*, extra number, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 242

or the Captain of Bassein refused to deliver the island on the ground that he had received no orders from Portugal to that effect. The Admiral and the Commander then applied to Sir George Oxenden, the British President at Surat, for permission to land the troops at Surat but the latter declined to do so for fear of giving offence to the Moghal Governor there who, he thought, might seize the Company's investments and expel them from the fort.¹ Although the English authorities at Surat knew that the sympathies of the people of Bombay and the adjoining places in the Konkan were towards the English as they were extremely dissatisfied with Portuguese rule and they had offered help to the English in case they would invade the island,² they did not think it proper to use force and would offer no help to the English fleet that had come from England. The Earl of Marlborough, accordingly, returned in disgust to England and Sir Abraham Shipman sailed down and landed at the unoccupied island of Angediva, to the south of Goa, where during the following eighteen months three hundred of his men died owing to the deadly effects of climate and the scarcity of provisions. Before November 1663 'of all the commissioned officers which Sir Abraham brought out from England with him there were not more than three remaining alive'.³

Meanwhile Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of the King of Portugal over the Portuguese possessions in India, who was loth to part with Bombay, wrote from Goa on the 28th December 1662 representing to Alfonso VI not to part with Bombay, which he declared was the best port of His Majesty's possessions in India, with which even Lisbon could not be compared and on which their prestige and trade in India depended.⁴ He also suggested to his King that even if His Majesty had completed the gift of the island, it should be purchased back from the King of England by paying him any amount he demanded.

¹ Ibid., p. 243.

² *Indian Factory Records* Vol. XI, p. 144, Gary's letter to Home Government; also Oxenden's letter to Lord Arlington of a late date—6 March 1665.

³ See Gary's letter No. 4 published below.

⁴ Ibid., p. 339, and *Origin of Bombay*, p. 243.

The Portuguese Viceroy, no doubt true to his nation, did not realise that Portugal ceded Bombay at a time when her political existence was at stake and when the peace of Pyrenees had revived the danger of Spanish invasion ; she was moreover at war with the Dutch and her devastating war with Spain and the United Netherlands had brought her to the verge of bankruptcy¹. The Portuguese King, when he agreed to cede Bombay to the British King, had made a secret treaty with him by which the King of Great Britain bound himself to exert his whole strength and power to help the Portuguese King in his hour of emergency.

In reply to the letter the King of Portugal wrote to his Viceroy on the 8th of February 1664² ' whatever is stipulated in the capitulations and reasons for giving contentment to the King, my brother, admits of no doubt ; and I trust you will carry out my instructions without further delay.'³

On the receipt of this letter from Portugal Antonio de Mello de Castro, learnt that Sir Abraham Shipman in whose name the cession was to be made had died at Angediva on the 6th of April 1664⁴ and found an excuse for further delay in the affair till he was satisfied that Mr. Humphrey Cooke, whom the deceased Sir Abraham Shipman had duly nominated, was a competent man to take delivery of the island. Accordingly he drew up on the 26th of December 1664 a statement of the case and appointed a Commission to make the delivery of the island. The Commission left Goa on the 17th of January 1665, reached Bombay on the 11th of February and after a new treaty consisting of fourteen articles was signed, though unwillingly, by Humphrey Cooke the island and harbour of Bombay was duly handed over to him on the 18th of February 1665.⁵

Although the island of Bombay was regularly delivered, the question of its boundaries still called for some discussion and at last all the villages of Mazagao, Parella, Varli, Mahim, Siao, Dharavi

¹ *Journal of Indian History* Vol. I, pt. 3, Sept. 1922., p. 448.

² Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan gives the date as Aug. 10, 1663. *Ang-Port Negotiations*, p. 455.

³ J. I. H. Vol. I, p. 459. ⁴ Ibid., p. 462. ⁵ *Origin of Bombay*, p. 257.

and Vadala were taken possession of by the English as belonging to the territory of the island of Bombay. The Bombay island thus at last became a possession of the British Crown and was attached to become a part of the Royal Borough of Greenwich and Mr. Humphrey Cooke became in fact the first Governor of Bombay, subject to the British King and independent of the President of Surat of the East India Company.

The Portuguese Viceroy, as was natural, made frequent complaints to his King against the excesses of Humphrey Cooke and curiously enough the British Government also were highly dissatisfied with his measures. He was accordingly removed and Sir Gervase Lucas was appointed to succeed him from the 5th of November 1666 but unfortunately he died shortly afterwards on the 21st of May 1667.

Captain Henry Gary who had long been in the service of the East India Company and was a deputy of Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat, was now appointed by the King to be the Governor of Bombay from the 25th of May 1667.

But Gary could not long enjoy his post and Bombay was destined to undergo another transfer from the British Crown to the British East India Company. The following were the reasons:—

The Governor of Bombay was in those days placed in a very difficult position. As the island of Bombay was leased to the English against their wishes and interests, the Portuguese officials, whose possessions, included Bassein, Salsette and other places in the neighbourhood of Bombay could never forgive the loss of this important port and were constantly at variance with him and frequently made complaints against the British Governor to the Home Government. Charles II, though determined not to give back Bombay island at any cost, wanted to avoid displeasing the Portuguese as far as possible in minor details and the complaints of the Portuguese officers were referred back to the Bombay Governor. Another difficulty with the Bombay Governor was that being appointed by the British King to govern his own possessions he was not a subordinate of the East India Company's President at Surat and consequently the relations between the Bombay and Surat officials were often far from cordial, one of the chief

points in dispute being the granting of passes to native ships. The beginnings of this friction could be perceived even in the Governorship of Cooke who in his letter of March 1665 complains of Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat.¹ A similar misunderstanding sprang up between Sir G. Lucas, the Governor and Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat, and though a reconciliation had taken place between them for some time, the trouble was brought to a head in the time of Henry Gary. It was now clear to King Charles II and no less evident to the Company that the existence of two independent authorities within the same sphere would endanger ceaseless strife and continual bickering.² The offer of the East India Company to take over Bombay thus fell on willing ears and the King decided to approve of the transfer. Accordingly on Wednesday, the 23rd of September 1668, Captain Henry Gary, the officiating Governor of Bombay, handed over the charge of Bombay to the Commissioners appointed by the Council at Surat. Henceforward Sir George Oxenden, President at Surat, became also the Governor of Bombay and the full sovereignty of the island which had been acquired by Charles II from the King of Portugal was transferred to the East India Company.

The foregoing short account of the transfer of Bombay first from the King of Portugal to the King of England and then from the latter to the English East India Company will be helpful for the proper understanding of the seven letters of Henry Gary dated 1662 to 1668, the accounts of Bombay for the period between 22nd May 1667 and 23rd September 1668 transacted by Henry Gary, and the Representation the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies concerning Bombaim made to the Right Hon'ble the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, which are published below. These MSS. were acquired by the late R. B. D. B. Parasnis and have been preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara. Although a large number of documents relating to the cession of Bombay and to its early history have been so far published, these MSS. have their own interest.

The seven letters of Henry Gary are autograph transcripts or duplicates very closely written and extend to some 13 folios.

¹ *J. Ind. Hist.* I. 467.

² *Ibid.*, p. 461.

They are written in a fantastic style characteristic of Gary which is only intelligible with a considerable difficulty. The letters are in most cases signed by Gary and were evidently sent by him in duplicate by later vessels in case the originals were lost and one of the letters bears the endorsement of the recipient. One of the seven letters was written from Goa, four from Surat and two from Bombay. The name of the person to whom they were addressed is not recorded but it is probable that they were written to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State in London, to whom a number of Gary's letters written in the same vein are addressed.

In addition to these seven letters a few more letters of Gary have been published in *The English Factories in India* edited by Sir William Foster, and two more in the *Journal of Indian History* edited by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan. A number of other letters of his which are referred to in these published letters require to be traced and published.

From these letters it seems that Henry Gary was a man of unusual energy and great diplomacy, though he appears to have been much misrepresented, not only by the unfriendly Portuguese but by his own people, chiefly by his superior officer Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat. It was even stated that Gary was not a pure Englishman by extraction. He was born in Venice and was popularly supposed to be of non-English origin. But that he was born of English parents is made clear by himself. In one of the following letters he says, 'Sir Geo Smith in his (*i.e.* President Oxenden's) esteem is noe better than wee and because hee was not borne in England ordinarily calls him Lapland; this is one and the only reasone hee sayeth that I am not beloved but extreemly hated by all menn here my parents having given me my birth in Venice.'

Gary was not in the good graces of Sir George Oxenden, the British President of Surat, under whom he was working. Each writes spitefully of the other. Oxenden spoke of Gary as being a man of 'unadvised vaine glorious boastings.' Gary in return writes of Oxenden in one of the following letters as follows: 'Doubtlesse so greate an hypocritt lives not uppon the face of the whole earth; nor a more prouder man and so damnable imperious that uppon the receipt of some displeasing lines from the Company the best

language hee afoards them is Doggs; to us theyr servants in generall knaves, Rogues and Rascalls.' He was so much displeased with Oxenden's treatment and was so much disappointed that in one letter he wrote thus—' I never expect to have any employmt given me in this comp^s service so long as S^r. Geo Oxenden is theyr Presid^t, hee having noe manner of kindnesse for me but rather to the contrary.' But Gary was in the good graces of the authorities at Home and even of the Queen to whom he makes a frequent reference in his letters. Probably because of this influence in England he was appointed on 25th May 1667 by the King of England to officiate as Governor of Bombay on the sudden death of Sir G. Lucas. When Gary was made Governor of Bombay the enmity between him and Oxenden seems to have been increased and Gary even accuses Oxenden to have barbarously taken money from his wife in his absence.

Gary was a highly educated man. He was proficient in the principal European languages. He was well versed in Portuguese and his chiefest employment at Surat was writing and answering of letters in Portuguese for the President. He seems to have made a deep study of the classical languages and his letters are full of quotations from the classics. A report goes that he had dedicated a treatise in Arabic to the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. But this seems improbable as the Viceroy was not in good terms with him. Gary's letters are written in a peculiar vein in quaint old-fashioned English and are not easily intelligible.

Dr. Fryer has rightly described Gary as 'a person of a mercurial Brain a better merchant than a soldier.' Gary seems to have sometimes looked for his own interests. One of the following letters shows that he expected some compensation from the Hon. Company for procuring the grant of Bombay to them from the British Crown. In announcing the transfer to the Secretaries of State Lord Arligton and Sir Joseph William he remarked that though the unexpected change had much troubled him he hoped that they would make the Government and the Committee of the East India Company sensible of his fidelity and that he was deserving of remuneration. But there can be no doubt that he had always worked hard for the prosperity of Bombay and his nation. From a MS. published under section B below and which gives the

account of the income and expenditure of the island of Bombay from 22nd May 1667 to 23rd September 1668 it seems that he had begun to fortify Bombay but had to leave the work incomplete as the island was handed over to the East India Company. In a letter dated Bombaim the 11th October 1668 (No. 7) he states 'Had not His Majesty parted with this (*i. e.* Bombay) island I would have fortified the place in lesse than two yeares very substantially with stone and lime.' His chief ambition, however, was to develop the port of Pen into a great commercial centre forming a connecting link between Northern and the Southern India. With this object he made friends with Abdullakhan, the Moghal Subha at Kalyan-Bhivandi, and with the minister Mirza Karim Beg and the Prince Moazzim, the son of the Emperor Aurangzeb. But because of his loss of the Governorship of Bombay on its transfer from the British Crown to the President of Surat and partly because of the peculiar nature and quarrels with Oxenden he could not achieve anything.

But one is amused to see Gary, with all his solicitude for material gain for himself and his nation, speaking in the following sanctimonious terms in one of his letters about the great fire of London which he attributes to the sinfulness of the people of London.

"The first memorable that I shall ensist upon is the dreadful damage done us by the Easterly winde who will make us alter the Proverb, *Omne malum ab Aquilone*, and put *ab Euro* instead of it. The truth of it is I believe no chronicle can paralell so dismall a judgment as that upon the Cittie of London, when for its great and before unheard of sinners and daring, provocations it pleased God to lett out himself upon them who is a consuming fire. I pray God to the consumption of sins as of houses."

As regards the career of Gary he seems to have been at first a Captain in the British army at Surat but was subsequently made a councillor at Surat in 1662. In the letter No. 1 published below he writes thus of his promotion—"The President (*i.e.*, Oxenden) had admitted me into the Councill and confirmed me Grace Purcer,¹ though it was no other but trash which hee did upon presenting

¹ This is an obscure term. Perhaps it may be compared with "Grass Widow" for which see *Hobson Jobson*.

him with a gold cup of 60 £ value.' Upon the sudden death of Sir Gervase Lucas Gary was appointed by the British king his Governor over the island of Bombay from 25th May 1667. On 23rd September 1668, however, when the island of Bombay was transferred by the British king to the British East India Company and consequently when the President of Surat became also the Governor of Bombay and had appointed one Captain Young as his Deputy at Bombay, Gary had to revert to his former position of a mere councillor. His later career is not sufficiently known, though we find a few of his letters dated in 1668 and 1670 written by him from Bombaim. The name of Gary is also not found among the English ambassadors who were sent from time to time to Shivajito negotiate with him probably because he had held and unfriendly attitude towards Shivaji and the Marathas.

B. Accounts of Bombay for the period between 22nd May 1667 to 23rd Sept. 1668 transacted by Henry Gary.

The second MS. on Bombay acquired by R. B. Parasnis consists of 33 folios and is in the hand of Henry Gary and is twice signed by him. It is entitled "Accompt Generall of His sacred Ma'ties receipt and revenue of His Port and Island of Bombaim begunne the 22nd May 1667 continued and transacted by Henry Gary, Esqr., to the 23rd September 1668 the day it was transferred to the Hon'ble East India Company" and relates to the account in connection mainly with the Garrison, Fortifications and Defence.

Fo. 1	<i>Bombaim Garrison Annis Dommini 1667-68.</i>	£	s.	d.
	Accompt Generall of His Ma'ties receipt and revenue of His Port and Island of Bombaim begunne the 22nd May 1667 continued and transacted by Henry Gary, Esqr., to the 23rd September 1668 the day it was transferred to the Hono'ble East India Company viz.:			
	Remayned at Sr. Gervase Lucas his Decease where wth I charge myselfe, the following particollars viz:			
	The Pynke Chest-nutt on w'ch			
	Sr. Gervase had expended .. £	157	07	03
	The Sloope w : ch. I esteeme to be worth £	67	10	00
	The Baloone or Pynace as shee cost His Ma'ty £	15	01	01
	Houses two valued and delivered up by Mr. Cooke at £	218	15	00
	Jewells being 109 ruff Diamonds amounting to £	568	02	08
	A Parcell of saile Cloth importing. £	10	10	00
	Ready mony the summe of .. £	388	11	06½
	Plate to the ammount of .. £	205	06	06
		1631	04	00½

Fo. 1	Bombaim Garrison Annis Dommini 1667-68.	£	s.	d.
	Received for Coconuts as p my receipts given X 33150 : 1 : 48			
	Received for Custumes as p my receipts appears X 18920 : 0 : 19			
	Received for the stanck of Tobacco to y ^e 8th Octob : as p my receipts X 14662 : 1 : 40			
	Received for the exise or farme of the Tavernes as p my receipts X 3224 : 1 : 40			
	Received the Rents of Bombaim as p my receipts given .. X 6776 : 0 : 54			
	Received the rents of Mazagaon as p my receipts appears .. X 7701 : 1 : 25			
	Received the rents of Mahim and its Jurisdiction as p receipts X 8253 : 1 : 36			
	Received the rents of Verulin as p receipts X 210 : 0 : 49			
	Received of J. Hynmers on said acco. etc. but passed no receipt. X 591 : 1 : 40			
		801	2	09
	Received of Mudan Kissengee etc. for Batte; for w ^{ch} gave noe receipt X 375 : 1 : 16			
	Received rent for the Island of Patteccas, but passed noe. rect: X 21 : 0 : 00			
	Received from Persia on accompt of the 20 bales sent thither by Sr. Gervase Lucas w ^{ch} hee charged to contingencies .. X 1548 : 2 : 61			
	Received of Francisco Murzelo, Customer, formerly of Mahim viz.			
	In ready mony the summe of .. X 8064 : 1 : 00			
	In coconuts being included in the summe of X 33150 : 1 : 48 X 135 : 2 : 00			
	In an house at Mahim it being the Custome house X 800 : 0 : 00			
	X 9000 : 0 : 00			
	Deducting X' 135 : 2 : Larees I am accomptable for X 8864 : 1 : 00			
	Received for severall Penaltys, sentences and confiscations for w ^{ch} gave noe receipts the summe of X 383 : 2 : 62			
	Batte or rice in the Huske remaying Moras 264 : 13 : 19 ad. ammon'g to X 3968 : 0 : 73			
	Summa. .. X 108652 : 1 : 03			
	W ^{ch} makes sterling money at X 13 : p each 22sh. 6d. the summe of £ 9402 12 08½			
	Recovered of the Administrator to Sr. Gervase estate X 6202 : 1 : 47 amo't to 536 15 01			
		11570	11	10

Fo. 2	Bombaim Garrison Annis Dommini 1668.	£	s.	d.
Sept. 23	Ammount of the Plaine brought over from folio 1 Received since the 23rd Septemb: and making up of the last abstract sent by the Constantinople merchant, the following summes upon acc. due to His Ma'ty viz:	£ 11570	11	10
Nov. 14	Of Vittogee Parvu on acc. of the rents of Mazagao X 60: 1: 40 Of Tomball Mattare on acc. of the rents of Verulin X 56: 0: 00 Of Ramgee Parvu on acc. of the rents of Mahim X 10: 1: 50 at 13 x' p. each 22sh. 6d is ster: £ 10: 19: 10 d. X 127: 0: 10			
	Summe Totall of what Received is £	11581	11	08½
	Disbursements generall made on the Island of Bombaim for Acc. of His sacred Ma'ty from the 22nd May 1667 to the 23rd September 1668 the day of the resigning up the Island unto the Commissioners for the Hon'ble Easte India Company and to the 3rd of October the day of the expiring the soldjers last moneth in His Ma'ties service, transacted all by Henry Gary Esq., as followeth viz:			
	Paid to His Ma'ties soldiers both old and new etc. as appeares by the particulars trans- ported hether the whole amount from folio 23.	£ 5346	07	03
	Contingencies its ammount brought hether from folio 25 £	415	08	03½
	Stable charges theyr ammount brought hether from folio 26 £	245	13	01
	Provision of Poudre and Saltpeter transported hether from folio 27 £	272	10	11
	Fortifications the amo't of its acc. transported hether from folio 28 £	332	02	05½
	Buildings and house reparations theyr amo't bro't hether from folio 29 £	79	12	07½
	Saile Cloath expended by the Gunners etc. a parcell ammounting to £	10	10	00
	Summe Tottall of His Ma'ties disbursements on this Island for His acco. £	6702	04	07½
	His Ma'ties remaynes up to the Easte India Comp: as Commissioner in all due obedience to His Ma'ties Warrant are as followeth viz:			
	The Chest nutt Pynke for what dis- bursed on her as in fo: 30 .. X 3377: 1: 16			
	The sloop a substantiall service- able vessell £67: 10sh. .. X 780: 0: 00			
	The Balooone or Pynace as shce cost £15: 1: 1 X 163: 2: 60			
	Horses 17 Oxen 2 and a fower whee Coache as in fo: 31 .. X 2210: 0: 26			

Fo. 2	<i>Bombaim Garrison Annis Dommini 1668.</i>	£	s.	d.
	Houses 3 viz. 2 at Bombaim w th a Palmar to each and one at Mahim w ^{ch} is the Custome- house there all cost X 3327: 2:18			
	Carabines 12 bo. of S. Geo. Oxinden formerly and 2 others here cost X 254: 0:30			
	Batte or rice in the Huske moras 264: 13: 19 adolins X 3968: 0:00			
	Household stuff severall particu- lars as in folio 32.. .. X 571: 2:02			
	Jewells being 109 ruff Diamonds importing X 6562: 0:35			
	Plate wrought as much as impor- ted the summe of X 4241: 1:60			
	Tymber 441 pieces as p acc, there- of in folio 33 appeares X 4126: 1:16			
	In ready money X 18983: 2:42 res and in good debts X 1614: 0:56 res. X 20598: 0:18			
	Dd. into Possession of the Easte India Comp. as Commissioners amo X 50181: 0:41			
	W ^{ch} at 13 x ^p each 22s. 6d. ster amounts to. £ 4342	4342	12	00
	More Dd into theyr Custody what was recovered of the Administra- tor to Sr. Gervase Lucas estate. X 6202: 1:47	536	15	01
	Dd. them in all besides Artyllery, ammunition stores etc. to ye amo of X 56383: 2:08			
	W ^{ch} makes sterling money £4879: 07: 01 besides some Remaynes expected from Persia.			
	Summe expended and delivered up amounts unto 11581	11	08½	

H. GARY salvo errore.

[X in these accounts stands for *Xeraphim* (Arabic *Ashrafi*), a silver coin current at Goa and roughly equivalent to 1s. 6d. or a rupee. 13X = 22s. 6d. Similarly Laree was a coin much in use on the Bombay side in those days. Basra Larees are mentioned in a Marathi document of 1-5-1656 of the time of Shivaji and his Governor Abaji Mahadev over Kalyan-Bhivandi. See Selections from the Peshwa Daftar No. 31-24.]

[On the folios from 5 to 23 the details of the amount of £5346-07-03 on account of the salaries of Henry Gary himself, as Governor and of his staff and the soldiers are given. In the first paysheet he gives the account thus—]

Accompt sallary paid to the officers and soldjers etc. of His Ma'ties Garrison of Bombaim commencing the 17th June 1667 as followeth viz.

June 17—To my selfe as Governour: I say paid the severall officers and soljers belonging to my owne Company one moneths pay commencing from the 18th May and ending the 15th June 1667 as followeth viz.

To my selfe as Governour from the 21st	
May to the 15th June is 25 days ¹ at 40s.	
p. diem ammounts to	£ 50-00-00
To the Lieutenant at 4s. p. diem comes to.	£ 5-12-10
To the Ensigne at 3s. p. diem	£ 4-04-00
To two Serjants at 1s. p. diem each ..	£ 4-04-00
To three Corporalls at 1s. p. diem each ..	£ 4-04-00
To two Drumes at 1s. p. diem each ..	£ 2-16-00
To 56 private centinels at 9d. p. diem each.	£ 53-16-00
	—————£ 129-16-00

Paid the officers and souldjers belonging to the Company to Capt. Thomas Hardie (unto whom I gave a Commission the 28th May) one moneths pay commencing from the 18th May and ending the 15th June 1667 as followeth viz.

To the Capt. 18 days pay at 8s. p. diem	
ammounts to	£ 7-04-00
To the Lieutenant at 4s. p. diem	£ 5-12-00
To the Ensigne at 3s. p. diem	£ 4-04-00
To two Serjants at 1s. each	£ 4-04-00
To three Corporalls at 1s.	£ 4-04-00
To two Drumes at 1s.	£ 2-16-00
To 51 Private Centinells at 21s. p. mensem	
each	£ 53-11-00
To 1 Private Sentinel for 10 days at 9d. p.	
diem	£ 0-7-06
	—————£ 82-02-06

Paid to the severall officers following one moneths pay comencing the 18th May and ending the 15th June 1667 viz.

To John Bird Chirurgion the summe of ..	£ 5-12-00
To Thomas Farley Chirurgions mate ..	£ 3-10-00
To Walter Gollephor Store keeper ..	£ 1-08-00
To Amos Prestoh Gunner	£ 2-16-00
To William Lacey Gunners mate	£ 2-02-00
To John Goodman Armorer	£ 2-02-00
To the Armorsers Assistant	£ 0-10-00
To John Flower an under surgeons mate ..	£ 1-08-00
	—————£ 19-08-00

£ 231-06-06

¹ Garv does not include the last date viz. 15th June, which he does in

Paid to the severall officers and soldjers belonging to my owne Company one moneths pay commencing from the 15th June and ending the 13th July 1667 viz.

July 13—To my selfe as Governour	..	..	..	£	56-00-00
To the Lieutenant at 4s. p. diem	..	..	..	£	5-12-00
To the Ensigne at 3s. p. diem	..	..	..	£	4-04-00
To two Serjants at 1s. p. diem each	..	..	..	£	4-04-00
To three Corporalls at 1s. p. diem each	..	..	..	£	4-04-00
To two Drumes at 1s. p. diem each	..	..	..	£	2-16-00
To 58 Private Centinels at 9d. p. diem each	..	..	..	£	60-18-00
				£	137-18-00

[In this way Gary gives the account of the salaries from time to time and the last paysheet written on folio 22 gives the names and pay of the officers and soldiers as noted above, with the following important additional information and makes the "Summe Totall of salary paid" as .. £ 5346-07-03]

Paid Rama Sinay Portuguez, Marettie and Guzeraty Secretary for one year and a quarter service as p his receipt the sume of X 250 £ 21-13-04

Paid to Narangee Parvu receiver of the Coconuts in Bombaim for three monthes service as p his receipt X 25.. £ 2-03-03

On the folios 24 and 25 Gary gives the various details of the contingent expenses which amounts to 4800-0-32 Zerafins which is equal to £415-08-03½ as stated in the second item of expenditure. Similarly in the following folios he gives the details of the other items of expenditure like the stable charges, Provision of powder, Fortifications etc.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A facsimile of the Manuscript of AL-KITĀBU'L-BĀRĪ FĪ'L-LUGHAH. BY ABŪ 'ALĪ ĪSMĀ'ĪL B. AL-QĀSIM AL-QĀLĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ. British Museum, 1933. Pp. 16, 148.

Mr. A. S. Fulton, by editing the fragments of al-Qālī's *Kitābu'l-Bārī*, recently acquired by the British Museum, has shown to the world how Muslim scholars of early days laboured hard to collect the vast treasure of Arabic words. From the facsimile we no doubt see how the Andalusian scribe wrote in his peculiar Maghribī hand, but in this age of hurry and flurry Mr. Fulton would have spared us the trouble of deciphering the contents of the fragments, if he had taken pains to make a fair copy of the manuscript and printed it in the ordinary type. Besides it seems to me that Mr. Fulton has incorrectly indicated the title of the work, which should read as *Kitābu'l-Bārī* and not as *al-Kitābu'l-Bārī*. The signification of the title in that case would be "The Book of the Accomplished in Lexicography" and not "The Pre-eminent Book on Lexicography" as the editor has translated it. For, the epithet *bārī* is applied to a man who excels his fellows in knowledge, learning, beauty, etc., and not to a book, though it may be applied to the beauty of its style. I do not know whence Mr. Fulton got this title, for authoritative works like Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* (vol. i. 74, Cairo edition, 1310 A.H.) and Yāqūt's *Mu'jamu'l-Udabā* (vide vol. ii. 352) all give the title as *Kitābu'l-Bārī fī'l-Lughah*. At any rate, from the publication of these fragments we get a fair idea of the contents of this work, which at its time was held to be the most comprehensive dictionary in the Arabic language.

Kitābu'l-Bārī of Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (d. 356 A.H.) is the third of the earliest lexicons in the Arabic language, the first two being the *Kitābu'l-'Ain* of al-Khalīl (d. 180 A.H.), so called because it begins with words having 'Ain as one of their radicals, and the *Jamharah* of Ibn Duraid (d. 321 A.D.), who was a teacher of al-Qālī. *Kitābu'l-'Ain* is now not extant, but its abridgement (*Mukhtaṣaru'l-'Ain*) by al-Qālī's student, az-Zubaidī still exists. The *Jamharah* has recently been published in Hyderabad. Of *Kitābu'l-Bārī*, only two fragments remain, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale

Paris, and the other in the British Museum, about which we have just spoken. According to Yāqūt (supra) it consisted of 3,000 leaves, and according to Ibn Khallikān (supra), of 5,000 leaves, and contained 5,683 words more than *Kitābu'l-'Ain*, besides giving evidential quotations in support of the words, which had been left unexplained by al-Khalil.

Like the *Jamharah* of Ibn Duraid, *Kitābu'l-Bārī* also followed *Kitābu'l-'Ain*, in which the words were arranged according to the alphabetical order of the Sanskrit grammarians, beginning with the gutturals and going on to the labials, the three weak letters *wāw*, *alif*, and *ā* being classed by themselves at the end of the series. The other two important works on lexicography, that have followed the arrangement of *Kitābu'l-'Ain*, are the *Tahdhīb* of al-Azhārī (d. 370 A.H.) and the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīdah (d. 458 A.H.). It is a peculiar arrangement and is based upon what is known in algebra as "permutation and combination" (*taqlīn*). A word consisting of three radicals is susceptible of six forms, of which some, if not all, may have a meaning. For instance, a word consisting of the three radicals B, J, and L, will have the following forms: Bajala, Balaja, Jabala, Jalaba, Labaja and Lajaba, all of which are possible (vide, *Kitābu'l-Bārī*, pp. 129-32), and so on. In this scheme, it becomes very difficult for the reader to find out a particular word.

This was the besetting fault of the early lexicographers, but as they were pioneers in the field of lexicography, this fault is easily forgiven, while we cannot thank them sufficiently for the vast stores of linguistic knowledge, which they have placed before us with all meticulous care and with their usual unbounded liberality. The disappearance of such a work as *Kitābu'l-Bārī* is a great loss to Arabic literature, and we may only hope that perhaps one day the whole work may be unearthed in some uncatalogued library of North Africa or the Near East.

U.M.D.

THE LIFE OF A MOGUL PRINCESS; Jahānarā Begum, Daughter of Shāh-Jahān. By ANDREA BUTENSCHÖN, with an introduction by Lawrence Binyon. George Routledge, London. 1931. Pp. 13, 221, 26 plates. 10/6.

Madame Butenschön has made an ambitious attempt in this novel at portraying the atmosphere of the Mogul Court in the last

exciting years of the reign of Shah Jahan when Aurangzeb advanced to Delhi with victory after victory. The story is told by Jahānarā Begum herself and is in the form of an irregularly kept diary of the Princess. The Princess is in love with a Rajput prince; but as the daughter of the Emperor she can never marry him. The plot is affecting but often obscure. The author has evidently taken a great deal of trouble in collecting her materials. At the end of the book are given two songs in Rags Darbari and Kalingra scored in European notation; and the Rags themselves are set out in European notation adapted for the piano. There is also a useful glossary of Indian terms and explanations.

The author has however not been entirely successful in capturing the atmosphere of the Mogul Capital in 1650. We object not only to the general style in which the Imperial Princess is made to write and to the sentiments she is made to express, but also to the author tripping in many details. At p. 39, Jahānarā tears her "Sari,"; at p. 97 the Princess is of the opinion that amongst Akbar's artists "the Hindus painted best of all, as if they were still sitting in the cave-monastery of Ajanta, using their brushes to conjure up the life of the outside world upon its walls," and so on. Now whatever Jahānarā may have worn when she felt inclined to tear her "sari" it was certainly not a sari. And Jahānarā could not possibly have even heard of Ajanta. In the "Explanations" an "Orchestra" is said to have "played at certain hours of the day and night" in the Diwān-i-Ām. No word could have been more inappropriate and inaccurate than "Orchestra" to describe the Naubat.

The book is well got up and the 26 plates will "convey to the reader some idea of the surroundings and atmosphere in which the Princess moved," as the author intends they should.

On the binding there are two excellent vignettes by Professor G. Morgenstierne.

S.F.B.T.

THE KADAMBA KULA. A history of ancient and medieval Karnatak By G. M. MORAES. B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay, 1931. Pp. 504. Rs. 15.

Mr. Moraes is to be congratulated for bringing to light, in a thoroughgoing manner, the history of a little-known dynasty

In his efforts to trace the vicissitudes of fortune of the Kadamba families he has presented a connected account of the Western Karnataka (which was called Kuntala in ancient Sanskrit literature) from the fourth to the fourteenth century. He has emphasized their work in the field of culture and civilisation as well as their political importance; and he has collected and utilized a good deal of new material which throws light on their activities. He has shown that in addition to fostering commerce, education and literature, they created a new style of architecture—which is the basis of the Hoyasala style—and also a new school of sculpture.

HISTORY OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS. By BISHESHWAR NATH REU.
Arch. Dept., Jodhpur. 1933. Pp. 151. Rs. 2.

This is intended to be a comprehensive history of the Rashtrakutas dynasties “upto the third quarter of the 13th century of Vikrama Era”; but its main object is to show that some of the present ruling houses of Rajputana which are known to belong to the Gahadavala clan, are descended from the ancient Rashtrakuta stock. The author seeks to establish, therefore, that a Rashtrakuta branch came down to Gadhipura (Kanauj), and established a kingdom; and that owing to its connection with that city, its members came to be known as ‘Gahadavalas.’ His argument is presented with erudition, but it fails to carry conviction. But he is to be congratulated for sketching the history of the different Rastrakuta dynasties and of the earlier Gahadavalas. An interesting appendix refutes certain charges commonly made in legend and history against two eminent Gahadavala rulers, Jayachandra of Kanauj and his grandson Rao Siha.

INDIAN WOMEN AND ART IN LIFE. By K. H. VAKIL, B.A., LL.B.
Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1933. Pp. 35. Rs. 2.

This little book, which seems somewhat excessively priced, comprises an address delivered by the author to the Indian Women's Conference. He believes that women can, if they so determine, “help art and culture to humanise the values of life,” and he has much to say against the misdirected zeal of academic enthusiasts who fail to see the intimate relation between life and art.

TUNGKHUNGIA BURANJI OR A HISTORY OF ASSAM, 1681-1826.
By S. K. BHUYAN, Oxford University Press, 1933. Pp. 32,
262. Rs. 10.

This valuable work, which throws a flood of light on Assamese history, is a curious mosaic of three distinct literary genres. It is in part translation, in part compilation, and in part independent literary effort. Its principal object is to present a history of Assam of the Tungkhungia period 'as told by its own historians.' It consists primarily of an English translation of Shrinath Duara's Buranji (Chronicle) which, however, covers only 70 out of the 145 years of the Tunghungia rule. This, Professor Bhuyan has himself supplemented by an account of the earlier years he has compiled, cutting sentences from old Buranjis and arranging them in their proper sequence, and it forms a proem to Shri Nath Duara's work. And in order to bring the story down to 1826, in which year Assam was taken over by the British, Professor Bhuyan has written a Chronicle of the last years in the style of old Buranjis. The book is very daring but it is well accomplished. An excellent introduction, genealogical tables, a bibliography and a glossary which compresses a mass of information on the political, social and religious system of the Assamese people, add to the value of the book.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ISLAMIC RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY

- (1) DIWĀN OF KHĀKĪ KHORASĀNĪ. Persian text, with an Introductuon by W. IVANOW. Pp. 20, ۱۲۸. Bombay, 1933.
- (2) TWO EARLY ISMAILI TREATISES (*Hoft Bābī Bābā Sayyid-nā and Matlubu'l-Mu'minīn* by Ṭūsī). Persian text, with an Introductory note by W. IVANOW. Pp. 9, ۶۴. Bombay, 1933.
- (3) TRUE MEANING OF RELIGION (*Risāla dar Haqiqati Dīn*) by Shihābu'd-dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī. Persian text, with an English Trans., by W. IVANOW. Pp. 28, ۳۸. Bombay, 1933.

The Islamic Research Association, inaugurated in February 1933, have already printed their first three publications. All

three deal with the religious books of the Ismaili sect, of the branch which is familiar to the inhabitants of Bombay under the name of Khojas. This, as we understand, was due entirely to the fact that these three works were ready for publication, and, when offered to the Association, could go immediately to the press. Other books are in preparation, and it is hoped that they may be published soon. As plainly stated in their prospectus, the Association does not limit its activities to any particular branch of Islamic studies, or to a definite sect. All studies forming a new step in Islamic research are welcome, and each will receive full share of attention.

The first item in the series is a collection of poems of an otherwise entirely unknown Persian poet of the first half of the seventeenth century, who himself belonged to the Ismaili sect. He was a peasant from a village situated not far from the city of Nishapur, where long before him flourished a poet who acquired such enormous fame far away from his mother country, Omar Khayyām. Khākī's poetry in no way resembles the familiar poetical aphorisms of Khayyām. He was probably not well educated, not well trained in the technique of versification, and his poems do not appear as brilliant as those of the great poets of Persia. But the secret of the appeal of his verses is a sincere and deep religious feeling, their unpretentiousness, and the purely human note in them, so rare in the sea of artificial splendour of Persian poetry. Those who are interested merely in the doctrine which he propounded may find it concisely explained in an English introduction, which gives all the details about the original Manuscripts, biography of Khākī, etc.

The next item contains two short prose works on Ismailism. The author of the first one is unknown, but by a lucky chance it is mentioned in the text that it was composed in 1200 A. H. It gives a rather primitive, but very interesting account of the Ismaili dogma, according to the ideas of the Persian Ismailis. The second item is supposed to be a short work of that famous and still enigmatic philosopher and theologian, astronomer and politician of the Persian middle ages, Naṣīrū'd-dīn Tūsī, whose work on ethics, *Akhlāqī Nāṣirī* is still popular in India. Most probably, being requested (as he states himself at the beginning of his work)

by some influential person, to whom he could not say "no" so easily, he wrote this short and rather superficial treatise in a hurry, only to show courtesy rather than to benefit the students. It is, however, a valuable document now, some seven hundred years after it was written, and it is good that such an ancient work has been printed.

The third item in the series, which is accompanied by a complete English translation, is a short sermon-like tract by the late Shihābū'd-dīn Shāh, the brother of H. H. the Aga Khan, who died some fifty years ago when the latter was only a child of some five or six years. The work, unfortunately, is not finished, though the portion that is printed was preserved in a unique and autograph copy, is complete in itself. It deals with the moral side of religion in general rather than emphasising purely Ismailitic dogma, and therefore may appeal not only to Ismailis, but also to people generally interested in Islamic idealism. It has a strong Shi'itic flavour, as one may expect, and perhaps equally savours of Sufism. It is a small work which may stimulate thought on some important problems not only of this material world, but also of the ultimate destiny.

'TRIPĀDANĪTINAYANAM' OF SRI MURARI MISRA, edited and published by HARISANKAR ONKARJI SASTRI at the Piyūsa Patrikā Kāryālaya, Nadiad. Pp. 46. Ans. 8.

The text is based on two MSS. that are available at the B.O.R.I., Poona. The book is a short disquisition on the topics discussed in the first Adhyaya of the Pūrvamīmāṃsa Sūtras of Jaimini. The title '*Tripādanītinayanam*' is to be explained by the fact that in this book the author attempts to summarize and supplement the contents of the last three Padas of the first Adhyaya of the Mīmāṃsa Sūtras, which discuss the validity of the Vedic Arthavāda and Nāmadheya as also of the Smṛti literature from the point of view of 'Dharma.' The text contains many mistakes in point of readings—thus making the understanding of the text rather a difficult task—, but the editor cannot be held responsible for them as he bases his text on the obviously incorrect MSS. of Poona.

In this book, the author refers to the views of some older writers in words like 'Vivekastu' (p. 11), 'Candrastu' (p. 12),

'Nandanstu' (p. 13), and 'Srikarastu āha' (p. 40). Among these Śrikara is a well-known writer often quoted in legal Digests and commentaries. Nandana is obviously not to be identified with the commentator of that name on the *Manu Smṛti*, if we assume with the editor that the author of this book is really the great Mīmāṃsaka, Murāri Miśra. A comparison of this book, however, with *Āṅgatvanirukti* which too is ascribed to Murāri Miśra, and which is printed in the 3rd volume of the *Śābara Bhasya* published in the Ānandāsrama Series, leaves one in doubt regarding this identification. The style of the book under review is rather poor for the great Mīmāṃsaka.

It is to be noted that the author does not make any Mangala. The introductory verse is obviously written by the scribe, who must have been a follower of Sri Vallabha Ācārya.

V. A. G.

ISMAILI LAW OF WILLS. By ASAF A. A. FYZEE. Humprey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933. Pp. 12 + 94 Rs. 5.

This work of Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee, together with several of his earlier papers, opens quite a new ground in the studies of Islam. Not only was there no reliable information about the Ismaili system of law, but even the existence of an independent school of Ismaili *fiqh* was scarcely known outside the circles which were in close contact with Ismailis themselves. The present book contains the text and the translation, with necessary notes and comments, of a short extract from the classical work on the subject, the famous *Da'ā'im al-Islām* by Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, written about the middle of the tenth century. The extract is very small, and even smaller than it appears, because a substantial part of it consists of the *Wasīyyat* of Ali,—whether genuine or not we cannot discuss now,—which is a purely religious document and has nothing to do with *fiqh*. Students of Islamic law would surely not have lost anything if it would have been omitted in this edition and dealt with separately. Let us hope that the author succeeds in editing with the same thoroughness the whole text of the *Da'ā'im*, or at least all the important portions of it, which should give a clear and complete idea about the outlines of the system of *fiqh* as built under the rule of the Fatimids of Egypt, a thousand years ago.

W. I.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE. (A.D. 1346—A.D. 1646). By B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., Ph.D. London. 2 Vols. B. G. Paul & Co., 12, Francis Joseph Street, Madras. Pp. 53+470 ; 525. Rs. 15.

The author states that he has endeavoured to describe the activities of the princes and people of Vijayanagara in sphere related to their political and social well-being. His attempt is the first of its kind in bringing before the reader classical and medieval Hindu theory in harmony with Vijayanagara maxims and practice, and enabling him to estimate for himself the achievements of the rulers of Vijayanagara, who were often declared custodians of the Hindu Dharma ; and we congratulate Dr. Saletore on the success achieved by him in his enterprise by his patient work. This thesis, now in the form of these two volumes, was accepted by the London University, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and is published with a grant from that University.

A very useful bibliography on the subject has been given at the beginning of the book and the Author has tried to make it as complete and up-to-date as possible.

After describing very pathetically the political condition of the Deccan on the eve of the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire, Dr. Saletore deals with the four controversies, viz., (1) The Date of Establishment of the Empire ; (2) the hand of Vidyāranya in it, (3) the pure Karnāṭaka stock from which the first rulers were descended ; and (4) the Building of the Capital.

He has weighed the pros and cons of these controversies testing them on the touch-stone of epigraphical and contemporary literary evidences and has arrived at right conclusions.

The subsequent chapters referring to the political and social institutions and their working, the customs and manners of the times form the main part of the two volumes. It is gratifying to note that some topics such as the capitals of the empire, the revenue matters with their sub-heads—taxation, land revenue, rent, customs, administration, and the army are treated at length.

In dealing with the social history in detail Dr. Saletore touches such important subjects as Brahmans and others, women,

habitation, food, dress, mode of living, festivals, games and amusements. It is, therefore, surprising to note that he has said nothing about education, literature, state patronage to men of letters, and religious disputations, &c. Perhaps the author has not exhausted his subject, as he admits in the preface.

A map of the Vijayanagara Empire with the important places marked on it, a plate of Vijayanagara and contemporary coins, and a synopsis of the History of the Vijayanagara kings would have increased the usefulness of the volumes. The following words and phrases in the technical glossary require revision,—*dronāmukha*, *erugaṇike*, *gaṇākāra-terige*, *gandiga*, *haḍapa*, *honnu*, *otti*, *sese*, *taḷavāra-āya*, *ubhayapradhāni*. These things can easily be remedied in a second edition.

K. G. K.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By H. L. CHABLANI, M.A., Economics Department, Delhi University. Oxford Book & Stationery Company, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. Pp. 113.

It is very difficult to get authentic information on all aspects of India's economic life during the ancient times. For such information regarding the Maurya and Gupta periods, we have to rely on scattered, indirect and inadequate material. For the Mogul period there is reliable and adequate material available and Mr. W. H. Moreland has attempted to use it in his two books; but his approach is rather one-sided, and his presentation of the facts and figures is not entirely historically scientific. In writing the present book Professor Chablani's main object is to stimulate interest in the reconstruction of Indian History and to try to give a correct perspective of those times.

The author has relied upon the information available in the writings of foreign traveller such as Barbosa, Nuniz and others in the Memoirs of Babur and the Chronicle of Mirza Haider. The author has drawn a vivid accurate and comprehensive picture of the economic condition of the whole of India during the 16th century. The whole book is copiously documented and quotations are allowed to speak for themselves.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part contains the introduction and a chapter on population. The second part deals with agricultural and industrial production, trade, water transport, economic security and currency. The third part contains chapters on food, clothing, housing and luxuries. In all matters except that of population the author has drawn conclusions which are supported by the quotations. Speaking of the extent of population of Akbar's empire he observes "This will give us a population of 130 millions for Akbar's empire alone—an estimate that exceeds by three millions Moreland's estimate for the whole of India." He concludes "Our estimate for the whole of India thus reaches a total of 289½ millions." This figure is arrived at by *a priori* reasoning. It may be safely stated that Mr. Moreland has underestimated while Professor Chabiani has overestimated the number. Professor Chabiani has committed an error in guessing the rural population for the whole of India from the extent of the urban population.

We find that in the 16th century India was a land of plenty and prosperity. All the departments of her economic activity were very highly developed. There was abundance of agricultural and industrial production. Everybody had two square meals, enough clothing and housing accommodation. India was economically self-sufficient and she exported various kinds of manufactured goods to foreign countries in her own ships and received specie (gold) in return for goods. From the chapter on shipping which is very enlightening we find that her shipping had reached a very high stage of development. We have a detailed account of various crops, vegetables, fruits, flowers and the methods of cultivation.

The standard of life was relatively high. People were physically strong and spirited. Those who are interested in knowing this glorious past should read this book.

G. N. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature. By P. S. DESHMUKH, M.A., D. Phil. Oxford University Press. Pp. 394. Rs. 15.

Bṛhati of Prabhākara Miśra, Tarkapāda. Madras University. Sanskrit Ser. No. 3, pt. I. 1934. Pp. 424. Rs. 5.

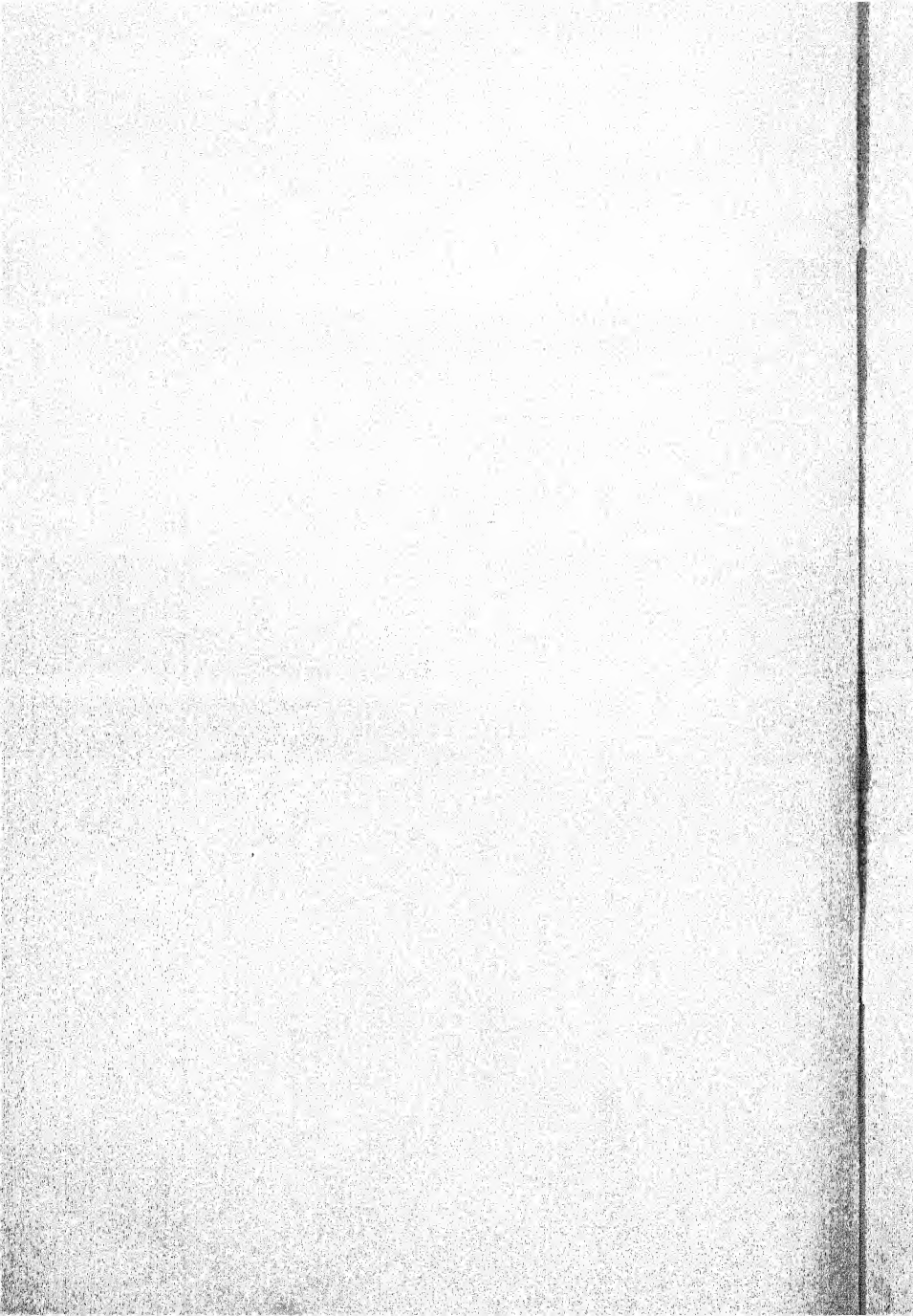
Diwān-i-Zu'l-Fakār. The collected poems of Zu'l-Fakar Shirwānī. Edited with an Introduction by E. EDWARDS, M.A. British Museum, London. 1934. Pp. 472.

Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A. (Bulletin, Dept. of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras.) 1933. Pp. 52.

Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavri. Edited by JAL DASTUR C. PAVRY. Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. 420. 50/-.

Indian Psychology: Perception. By JADUNATH SINHA. Kegan Paul, London. 1934. Pp. 400. 15/-.

Tibetica I: Dialects of Tibet; the Tibetan Dialect of Lahul. By GEO. DE ROERICH. Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute. Pp. 109. Rs. 3.



TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ <i>a</i>	औ <i>au</i>	ठ <i>ṭh</i>	भ <i>bh</i>
आ <i>ā</i>	क <i>k</i>	ड <i>ḍ</i>	म <i>m</i>
इ <i>i</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ढ <i>ḍh</i>	य <i>y</i>
ई <i>ī</i>	ग <i>g</i>	ण <i>ṇ</i>	र <i>r</i>
उ <i>u</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	त <i>t</i>	ल <i>l</i>
ऊ <i>ū</i>	ङ <i>ṅ</i>	थ <i>th</i>	व <i>v</i>
ऋ <i>r̥</i>	च <i>c</i>	द <i>d</i>	श <i>ś</i>
ॠ <i>r̄</i>	छ <i>ch</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	ष <i>ṣ</i>
ऌ <i>l̥</i>	ज <i>j</i>	न <i>n</i>	स <i>s</i>
ॡ <i>l̄</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	प <i>p</i>	ह <i>h</i>
ए <i>e</i>	ञ <i>ñ</i>	फ <i>ph</i>	ळ <i>ḷ</i>
ऐ <i>ai</i>	ट <i>ṭ</i>	ब <i>b</i>	
ओ <i>o</i>			

◌ (Anusvāra) <i>m̐</i>	× (Jihvāmūliya) <i>ḥ</i>
◌ (Anunāsika) <i>m̃</i>	≍ (Upadhmāniya) <i>ḥ</i>
: (Visarga) <i>ḥ</i>	⊂ (Avagraha) <i>'</i>

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC.

ا a	ز z	ق q	ـ i or e
ب b	س s	ك k	ـ' u or o
ت t	ش <u>sh</u>	ل l	اـ ā
ث <u>th</u>	ص s	م m	يـ ī, e
ج j	ض ḍ	ن n	وـ' ū, o
ح ḥ	ط t	و w	يـ ai
خ <u>kh</u>	ظ z	ه h	وـ au
د d	ع ' .	ي y	silent t . . . h
ذ <u>dh</u>	غ <u>gh</u>	ء ' .	
ر r	ف f	ـ a	

PERSIAN.

پ p	چ <u>ch</u>	ژ <u>zh</u>	گ g
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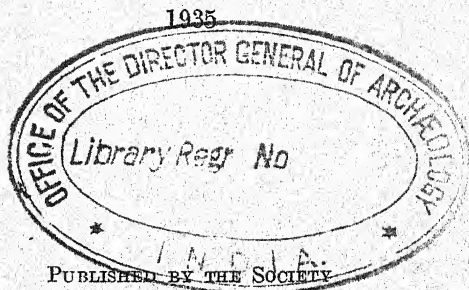
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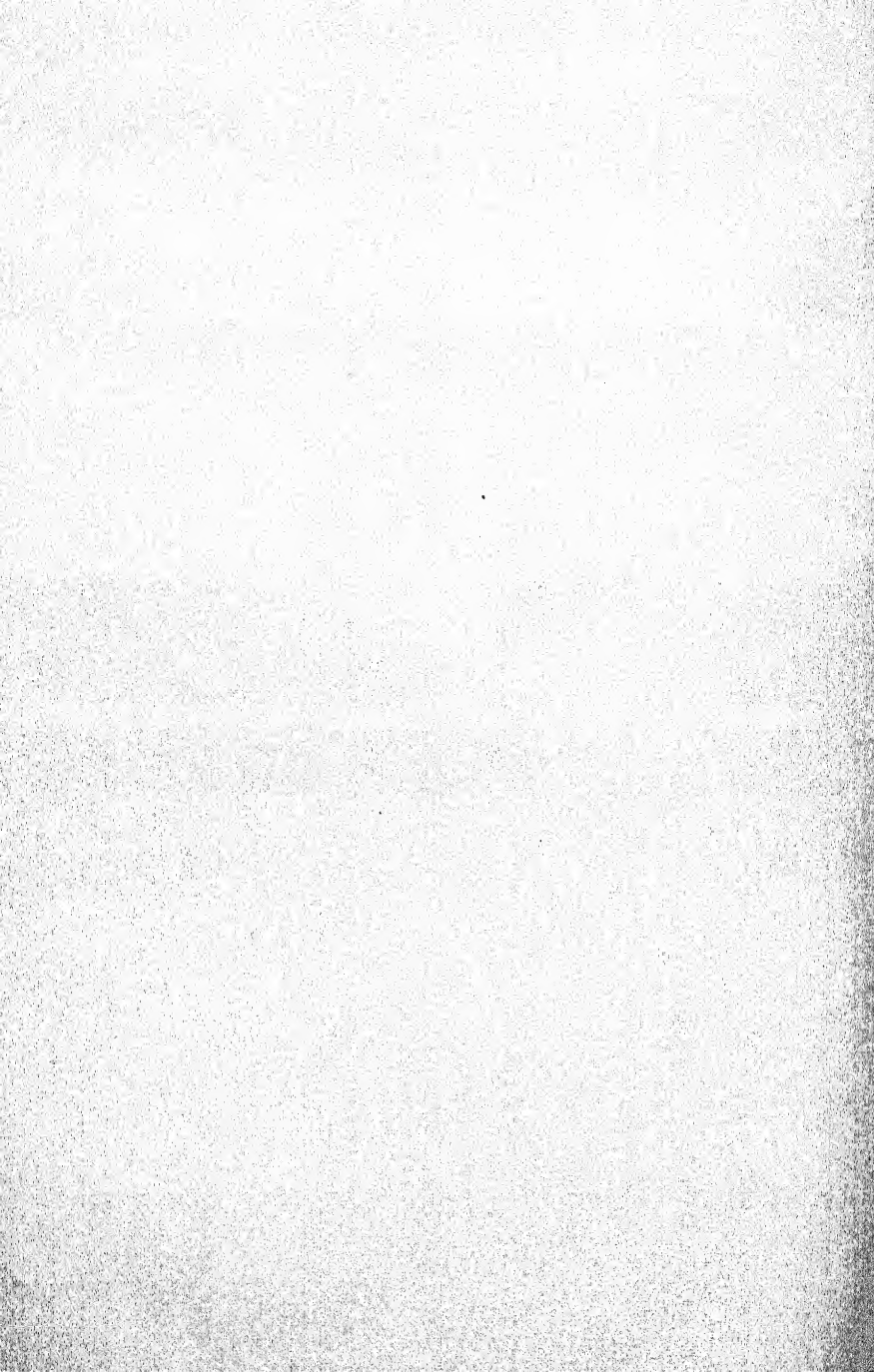


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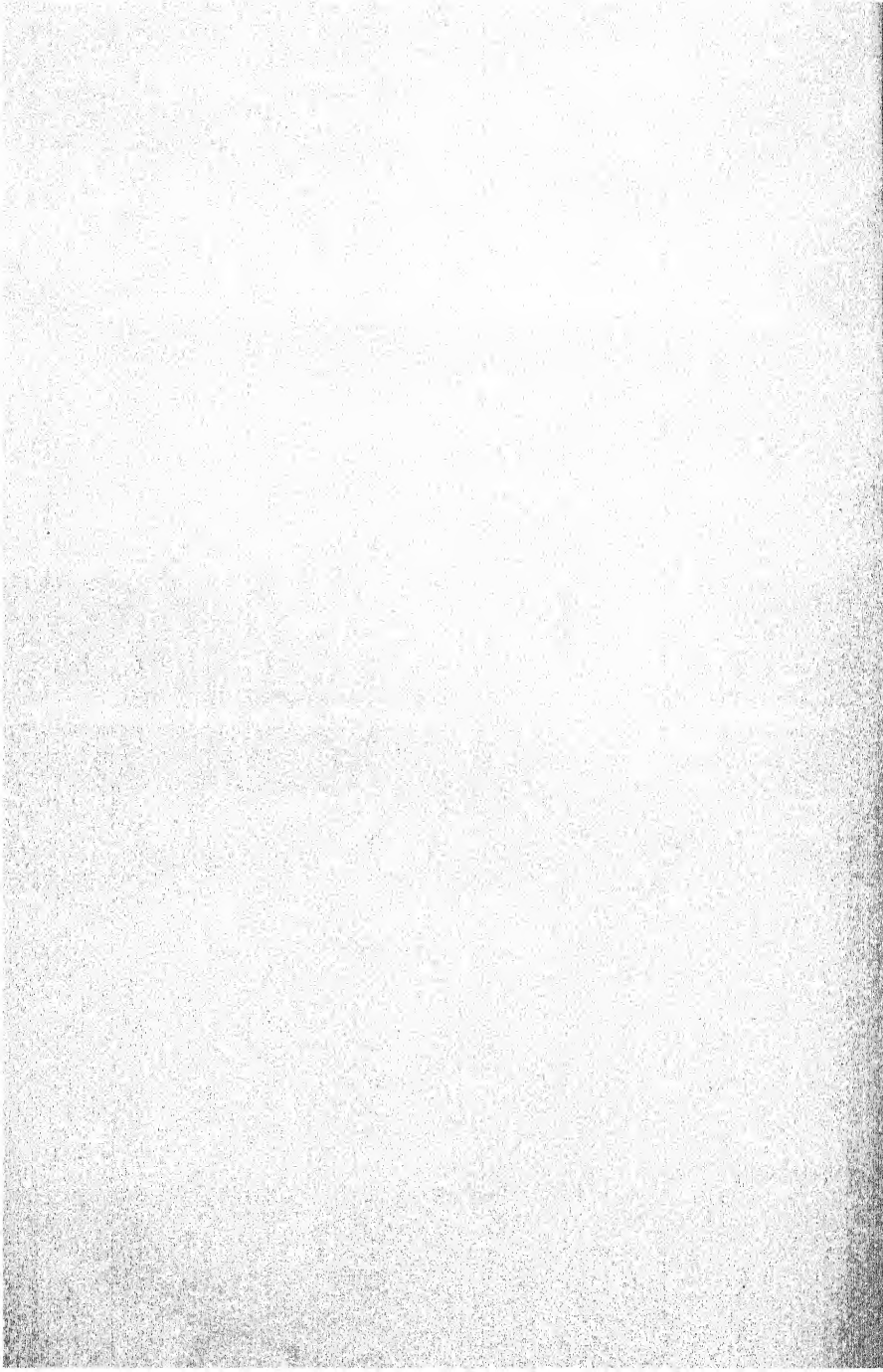
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GOTRA AND PRAVARA IN VEDIC LITERATURE*

BY P. V. KANE

A comprehensive history of *gotra* and *pravara* has yet to be written. The mass of material on this subject to be digested and reduced to order is so vast and bewildering that the learned author of the *Pravara-mañjarī* (p. 72, ed. by Chensalrao) remarks in despair 'Here, in the parts of *sūtras* that have been quoted there is a great divergence in the order of the texts of the several *sūtrakāras*, this being specially so in the text of the *Āśvalāyanasūtra*. Thus, though divergence is thus clearly established yet following the order of the text of the majority of writers such as *Baudhāyana*, *Āpastamba*, *Kātyāyana* we shall declare the rules about marriage or no marriage'¹ and again (p. 134) 'Here in this section on the *pravara*, *mānava*, the opinions of the *sūtrakāras* appear to be extremely incomprehensible owing to inconsistencies in the

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¹ अत्रोदाहृतेषु सूत्रकाण्डेषु सूत्रकाराणां पाठक्रमव्यत्यासो महानस्ति विशेषतश्चाश्वलायन-सूत्रपाठे । ... एवं भेदे सिद्धे सत्यपि बौधायनापरतस्त्वकात्यायनादीनां बहूनां पाठक्रमानुसारेण विवाहाविवाहौ वक्ष्यामः ।

earlier and later portions (of the same author) and the mutual contradictions of the authors.'¹

Gotra entered into numerous daily practices of the ancient Aryans in India and it was of supreme importance in several fundamental matters. Only a few examples of both kinds may be stated here from the sūtra literature alone.

- (1) In marriage the bride and bridegroom had to be of different gotra's. *Vide* Gobhila-gr̥ III.4. 3-5, F I.19.2, Āp. Dh. S. II.5.11.15. In offering *lājas* into fire at the time of marriage, gotra made a difference; tv̥ offerings were to be made by all except Jāmadagnyas, who had to make three; *vide* Āś. Gr. S. I.7.8. According to Gobhila-gr̥ II.3.13 the bride after being shown the pole-star was to bow to her *guru* (husband acc. to the com.) after repeating her gotra. *Ātama* Dh. S. 23.19. (2) In inheritance, the wealth of one dying without issue was to go to the nearest kin; *Ātama* Dh. S. 15.20. (3) In *śrāddha* the brāhmaṇas to be invited should not belong as far as possible to the same gotra as that of the person inviting; *vide* Āp. Dh. S. II.7.17.4, G. *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra* 4.3. (4) In *pārvaṇa sthālīpāka* and other *pākayajñas*, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and the fore half of the *havis*, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are *puṣṭikāṇas*) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore part and the hind part. *Vide* Āś. Gr. S. I. 10. 18-19. The same holds good as to *śrauta* rites also; *vide* Mānav. *śrauta* I.3.2.5. (5) In the two *ājyabhāgas* clarified ghee was to be taken four times for all, but five times for Bhṛgu; *vide* Khādīragrihya II.1.17, Gobhila-Gr̥. I.8.4. (6) In offering water to a *preta* (person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (Āś. Gr̥. I.4.10). (7) In the *caula* (tonsure) ceremony of a boy tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the particular *śrauta* and the immemorial practice of the family (of the boy's father); *vide* Khādīra-gr̥. II.3.30 'yathā-gotra-kulakalpam'.

1 अत्र हि ज्ञानवे प्रवक्तृणां सूत्रकाराणां अभिप्रायः पूर्वापरविरोधात् परस्परविरोधान्वात्यन्तदुर्बलवोधा इवावभाति ।

The above examples will make it clear that the system of gotra was closely intertwined with numerous rites in the family. This presupposes that it must have been a growth of ages. The general conception is that it denotes descendants who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common ancestor. The Baudhāyana-śrauta (Pravarādhyāya, B.I. edition, vol. III, p. 467) says 'the seven sages are Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa; the issue of these seven sages together with Agastya as the eighth constitute *gotra*.'¹ The same work says in the same place that there are thousands, ten thousands and *arbudas* (crores) of gotras, but the *pravaras* of these gotras are only 49. The Pravaramañjarī (Chensalrao, p. 2) has a verse which says that the gotras number three crores and therefore it is most difficult to comprehend them. The view put forward by the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra that the most ancient gotras are only eight and that the descendants or issue of these eight sages constitute gotra was well-known to Patañjali. Patañjali also mentions that there were 88,000 sages.² The Āpastamba Dh. S. (II. 9. 23.3-4) quotes two verses from a Purāṇa, wherein the fate of 88,000 sages who desired offspring and 88,000 sages who did not desire offspring is referred to. Pāṇini defines gotra in a more restricted way for grammatical purposes as 'apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram' (IV. I. 162). But even Pāṇini employs the word gotra in this restricted sense only in *apatyādhyāyikā*, but elsewhere he uses the word gotra in the popular sense as comprehending all the descendants of a common ancestor. *Vide* Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 2.39 and IV. 3.80. The Mahābhārata Śāntiparva (chap. 297 verses 17-18, Bombay ed.) says rather abruptly that there were only four original gotras, *viz.*, Angiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu. This dictum of the great epic has probably no solid ancient tradition behind it and seems to me to be a later imaginative guess. The Matsya, Agni and other Purāṇas give elaborate and conflicting accounts about gotras and

1 विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निर्भरद्वाजोऽथ गौतमः । अश्विनोऽपि सप्त ऋषयः ॥
तेषां सप्तर्षीणामगस्त्याष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्वै त्रमुच्यते ।

2 अष्टादशीतिः सहस्राणि ऊर्ध्वरेतसामुषीणां बभूवुस्तत्रागस्त्याष्टमैर्ऋषिभिः प्रजनोऽ
भ्युपगतः । तत्रभवत् यदपत्यं तानि गौत्राणि अतोऽप्ये गोत्रावयवाः ॥ [Mahābhāṣya ed. by Kiel-
horn, vol. II, p. 233 on 'गोत्रावयवाः' पृ. IV. I. 79.]

pravaras. Therefore it is necessary to go far behind the sūtras and the purāṇas in order to understand the origin and development of the system of gotra and pravara and to make a detailed study of vedic literature. In the following pages an humble attempt is made in that direction.

First I shall take the word gotra for treatment.

In the R̥gveda the word gotra occurs several times. But in most cases, if not in all, where it is employed, it appears to be used in a totally different sense from the present sense of the word gotra. In a few verses the word *gotra* means 'cowstall' or 'herd of cows.' R̥g. I.51.3 'thou hast disclosed the cowstall to the Aṅgirasas and thou that findest (all) ways (discovered a way) for Atri (confined) in a hundred doors';¹ R̥g. III. 39.4 'the glorious Indra, endowed with marvellous power, laid bare for these (Aṅgirasas) the cowstall that had been strongly guarded';² R̥g. X. 120.8 'he (Indra) rules over the great self-luminous herd of cattle and threw open all the doors.'³ Vide also R̥g. II.17.1; III. 30.21; III. 43.7; IX. 86.23; X. 48.2. In all these the word gotra has almost the same sense as *goṣṭha* or *vraja* both of which occur in the R̥gveda (VI. 28.1 and X. 97.8 have *goṣṭha* and IV. 20.8, VI. 73.3 and VII. 27.1 have *vraja*). By a natural metaphor gotra came to mean a cloud (in which waters are pent up as in a cowpen) or cloud demon and also a mountain range or peak which conceals water-yielding clouds. R̥g. II. 23.3 'O Bṛhaspati, (thou mountest the car) that is terrible, that subdues foes, that kills demons, that pierces the clouds and finds light';⁴ R̥g. IV. 16.8 'when praised by the Aṅgirasas, thou, a leader, layst open for us plentiful wealth after shattering the cows.' R̥g. X. 103.7 (=Tai. S. IV. 6.4.2, Atharva V. 2.8 and Vāj. S. 17.39) 'the warrior Indra, who plunges with might towards the clouds, merciless and with a hundred furies.' Vide also R̥g. VI. 17.2; X. 103.6. In some of these verses it is possible to take gotra in the sense of fort. It is difficult to say what gotra means in R̥g. VIII. 63.5 'the singers have quickly

¹ त्वं गोत्रमाङ्गिरोभ्योऽवृणोस्पोतात्रये शतदुरेषु गातुवित् । ऋ. I. 51.3

² इन्द्र एषां दंष्टिता माहिनावानुद्गोत्राणि ससृजे दंसनावान् । ऋ. III.39.4

³ महे गोत्रस्य क्षयति स्वराजो दुरश्च विश्वा अवृणोदप स्वाः । ऋ. X. 120.8

⁴ बृहस्पते भीममभिदंभनं रक्षोहणं गोत्रमिदं स्वर्विदम् । ऋ. II 23.3

praised thee, O Indra, for the gift of gotra' ¹ (which Sāyaṇa renders as 'dhana' here). In some cases gotra simply means 'assemblage' (samūha); Rg. II. 23.18 'for thy glory, Oh Āngiras (Bṛhaspati here) the mountain split itself when thou laidest bare the herd of kine'; ² Rg. VI. 65.5 'Oh Dawn, that lingerest on the mountains, the Āngirases do declare that the herds of kine are thine.' ³

From this last sense of 'an assemblage or group' the transition to the meaning of 'a group of persons' is both easy and quick. Though there is no positive use of the word gotra in the Rgveda in the sense of 'descendants of a common ancestor,' it will be plain from the remarks to be made later on that the conception underlying the idea of gotra was quite familiar even in the age of the Rgveda. There are other words in the Rgveda which are used in two senses, e.g., the word 'Yuga' (which means a yoke in Rg. X. 101.3, and 'a long period of time' in Rg. I. 192. 11; I. 158.6, VII. 9.4; III. 26.3; X. 94.2 and other places). The argument from silence cannot reasonably be pushed so far as to assert that the word *gotra* had *not* come to mean in the Rgvedic age 'a group of men.'

In the Atharva-veda V. 21.3 we read 'made of forest tree, brought together with ruddy kine, *belonging to all the families*, speak thou alarm for our enemies, being smeared with sacrificial butter' ⁴ (Whitney). Here clearly the word 'gotra' which is seen in the form 'viśvagotryaḥ' means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). In the Kauśika-sūtra (IV. 2) while describing Darśa-Paurṇamāsa a Vedic mantra is quoted 'Oh Soma, do thou who art divine and supervisest men, show to us easy paths, mayst thou lead towards us as towards wise men our gotra; thou sendest towards us speech that is fond of us.' Here gotra seems beyond doubt to mean 'a group of persons.'

In the Taittiriya-Saṁhitā several passages show that descendants of great sages like Vasiṣṭha were called after the names of

¹ श्वानमर्का अनुषतेन्द्र गोत्रस्य दावने । ऋ. VIII. 63.5

² तव श्रिये व्यजिहीत पर्वतो गवां गोत्रमुदधृजो यदङ्गिरः । ऋ. II. 23.18

³ इदा हि त उषो अङ्गिरसानो गोत्रा गवामङ्गिरसो गृणन्ति । ऋ. VI. 65.5

⁴ वानस्पत्यः संभृत उल्लियाभिर्विश्वगोत्र्यः । प्र त्रासममित्रेभ्यो वदाज्येनाभिघारितः ॥

those sages. In Tai. S.I.8.18.1 it is said 'the Hotṛ is a Bhārgava.' The com. explains that in the model sacrifice the Hotṛ may be the descendant of anybody, but in the Rājasūya which is a modification the hotṛ must be a descendant of Bhṛgu. It is quite possible that descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as by blood through father and son. But in those days there being no numerous occupations, the son would learn from his father the sacred lore of the latter. In Tai. S. III.5.2.1 the story is told that Vasiṣṭha learnt from Indra certain formulas called *stomabhāgas* and that in the Jyotiṣṭoma the Brahmā priest must be a Vāsiṣṭha. In Tai. S. VII. I.9.1, we read¹ 'Jamadagni, desirous of prosperity, offered the *catūrātra* (four nights' rite); he prospered as to the (well-known) *poṣas* (modes of prosperity, e.g., progeny, cattle, etc.); therefore one does not know (or find) two Jāmadagnyas (in succession) who are poor (or grey-haired).' From this passage it is clear that in the times of the Tai. S. Jamadagni was a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jamadagnis and that no two descendants of Jamadagni were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

In the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā (III. 8.9) we read " 'thou art a cover for all people'; with these words he sets up a roof, for they proceed gotra by gotra."² This passage is supposed to indicate that each gotra had its own special rites and formulae (*vide* Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, under *gotra*).

In numerous *mantras* of the R̥gveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the use of the plural form of the names of the sages. For example, R̥g. X. 66.14 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father, praying like the sage to the gods for their welfare'³; R̥g. VI. 36.5 'May I not be deprived of the cow that yields bright (milk), wise one (Indra), inspire the Angirases with prayer.' Here in the preceding verse the Bharadvājas are named and they appear to be referred to

¹ जमदग्निः पुष्टिकामश्चतुरात्रेण यजत स एतान्पोषान्पुष्यत्तस्मात् पलितौ जामदग्नियो न सञ्जानाते। ते. सं. VII.1.9.1

² विश्वजनस्य छायासीति छदिरभिनिद्भाति गोत्राद्गोत्रादि प्रसर्पन्ति।

³ वसिष्ठायः शिवनराजगणैः देवैः ईश्वरः सन्तुष्टः सन्तुष्टः सन्तुष्टः

as Āṅgirasas in this verse. According to the Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Āṅgīrogaṇa. Rg. VIII.69.8 'Oh Priyamedhas, worship, worship, worship (Indra); and may the sons worship, worship the bold one (Indra) as a city (or fort)'. Here 'sons' being specially mentioned, it has to be supposed that 'Priyamedhas' includes remoter descendants of Priyamedha than sons.

Turning to the Brāhmaṇa Literature there are ample indications that the priestly families had become grouped into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that they differed in matters of details of worship according to the group they belonged to.

The Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa (I. 1.4.8) prescribes that the consecration (*ādhāna*) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhṛguś and Āṅgirasas with the Mantra 'bhṛgūnām-tvā-ṅgirasām vratapate vratenādadhāmi,' that for the other Brāhmaṇa groups with the mantra 'ādityānām tvā devanām vratapate, etc.'; the same brāhmaṇa further prescribes separate mantras for a king, for a kṣatriya who is not a king, for a vaiśya and for a *rathakāra* (carpenter). The Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa again (II.2.3.7) refers to the 'Āṅgirasī prajā' (people of the Āṅgiras group) by saying 'therefore the Āṅgirasas people carry the oblation to the Ādityas (meditating on them) as sitting among the metres.' The Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa ¹ (18.2.12) prescribes that the *camasa* (cup) made of *udumbara* was to be given (as *dakṣiṇā*) to a sagotra brāhmaṇa in order that the drinking of soma may not become fruitless. The Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa ² (25.15) lays down that one who has performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which a man was to give in gift everything of his) should stay for a year with a brāhmaṇa having the same gotra as his. The Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa (III.3.4) says "He asks him when he approaches 'who art thou?'; he announces whatever he may be by name or by gotra." The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa contains several very interesting passages on the question of gotra. In the Dvādaśāha before the *dikṣā* a

¹ सगोत्राय ब्राह्मणे देयः सोमपीथस्यान्यपोहाय । ताण्ड्य 18-2-12

² ब्राह्मणे समानगोत्रे वसेद्वत्समाने गोत्रेऽन्नाद्यं तस्योपास्यै संवत्सरं चरेदधः संवेदय ।
कौषीतकि ब्रा. 25-15

prājāpatya paśu was to be offered. The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (Haug's ed. IV. 26 and 19.4. Ānandāśrama ed.) prescribes that the Āprī verses which are ascribed to Jamadagni, (i.e., R̥gveda X. 110.1-11) are to be recited over the immolation of the animal. Then a question is raised as to why the Āprī verses ascribed to Jamadagni are to be recited by all in this prājāpatya paśu, when in the case of other paśus, the Āprī verses respectively ascribed to the several sages are to be recited for the respective descendants of those sages. In the section dealing with Aitaśapralāpa there is a story of Aitaśa and his son Abhyagni and the Aitareya (VI 33=30.7) ends the story by saying 'therefore they say that the Aitaśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas.' The same story occurs in the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa where it is said 'The Aitaśāyanas being of noble birth became the lowest among Bhṛgus, as they were cursed by their father.' The Aitaśāyanas are a sub-section of the great Bhṛgugaṇa, according to Baud. In the story of Śunaḥśepa we are told that Śunaḥśepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and that the Kāpileyas and Bābhnavas were affiliated to Devarāta (VII. 17=33.5).¹ According to the Āp. śrauta-sūtra and Satyāśāḍha, Devarāta and Babhru are sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. The Aitareya contains a gāthā which is interesting and shows that the gotra relationship was by birth and that all descendants went by the name of the founder of the gotra 'thou art known as a sage, a son of Ajigarta and as an Āngirasa by birth; therefore, Oh sage, do not go away from the line (thread) of your grand-father, return to me.'² It is further said that the names of some of Viśvāmitra's younger sons were Madhucchandas, R̥ṣabha, Reṇu, and Aṣṭaka. These (except R̥ṣabha) are either sub-divisions of Viśvāmitra gotra or pravaras of some sub-divisions of that gotra according to the sūtras. It is further to be noted that as Gāthina was the father of Viśvāmitra and Kuṣika was his grand-father he addresses his sons as 'Gāthināḥ' and also as 'Kuṣikāḥ.' We are further told that the founder of Ajigarta's family was Jahnu.

¹ स इ देवरातो वैश्वामित्र आस । तस्यैते कापिल्यवाभ्रवाः । ऐ. ब्रा. VII-17

² आगिरसो जन्मनासि आजीर्गर्तः श्रुतः कविः । ऋषे पैतामहाचन्तोर्माप गाः पुनरोहि मास । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 17.

In the story of Rāma Mārgaveya (Ait. Br. VII. 27=35.1) we are told that Asitamṛgas were a section of the Kāśyapas. According to the Āśvalāyana-śrauta Asita is one of three pravara-ṛsis of Kāśyapa-gotra. In the story of Hariścandra we are told (Aitareya-br. VII. 16) 'his *hotṛ* priest was Viśvāmītra, *adhvaryu* was Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha was Brahmā priest and Ayāśya was the *Udgātṛ*'. We saw above that the Brahmā was to be Vasiṣṭha according to the Tai. S. Ayāśya is a sub-division of Āngiro-gaṇa.

In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (II. 6) there is a verse 'Do undertake (works) with clarified butter; do persist in (what is undertaken); you two guard the path common (to you both); whatever *pūrta* (charitable acts) you have done and whatever you have served into fire, Oh husband and wife, you two should persist in it for that *gotra* (for all persons of that gotra to which you belong).'¹

In the famous story of Satyakāma Jābāla in the Chāndogyaopaniṣad (IV. 4) the teacher asks him what his gotra is. As the boy's mother was not able to tell him his gotra he truthfully tells the teacher that he does not know it and the teacher styles him Jābāla, after his mother Jabālā. Many inferences have been drawn from this story, one being that a teacher could give a fanciful gotra to a student (*vide* Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, p. 354). It has to be borne in mind that Satyakāma Jābāla is mentioned as a very ancient sage in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, which quotes his view on the Vyāhrtis in the coronation ceremony (Aitareya-br. VIII. 7=37.2). Instead of holding on the strength of a single story found in the Chāndogya that a teacher could give any gotra name to a pupil, it is rather more reasonable to hold that the story in the Chāndogya is no more than an ancient attempt to give an etymology of the word Jābāla as a gotra.² Such etymologies occur very frequently in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads; *vide* etymology of Āngiras in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa III.34 and of Atri in Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.2.4. The Gobhila-grhya-sūtra (II.10.22-25) says that in Upanayana the ācārya asks the

²⁰ आरमेथामनु संरमेथां समानं पत्न्यामवधो वृतेन । यदां पूर्तं परिदिष्टं यदन्नो तस्मै गोत्रायेह जायापती संरमेथासु ॥ तै. आ. II 6. Compare अथर्ववेद VI. 122-3

²¹ In Ephigraphia Indica vol. XI, p. 93, the donee in a charter of *पद्मनाभ* I is a *ब्राह्मण विष्णुकर्मन* of जाबालगोत्र and वाजसनेयशाखा.

boy his name in the words 'what is your name,' that the ācārya gives him a name derived from a *devatā* or from a nakṣatra for the purpose that the boy may use it at the time of bowing at his teacher's feet and that according to some writers also a name depending on the boy's *gotra* may be given (for the same purpose). This shows that the teacher was to ask the boy's *gotra* and to order him to use his *gotra* name (such as Śāṇḍilya) at the time of *abhivādana*. We are told in the sūtras that at Nāmakaraṇa the boy was named after a deity (such as Haradatta, Rudradatta) or after a nakṣatra (such as Puṣya-mitra, &c.). In the Upaniṣads several *gotras* are named incidentally. For example, in Praśna Upaniṣad I.1 we have persons of Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana *gotras*; in the Chāndogya V. 14.1 and V. 16.1 Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi are both addressed as Vaiyāghrapadya and Uddālaka Āruṇi as Gautama; in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (II. 2.4) Gautama and Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa are mentioned in pairs.

The result of the preceding discussion may be summarised thus. The word *gotra* is used in the R̥gveda in the sense of a 'cowstall' or 'herd of cows' and sometimes in the sense of a cloud or mountain and possibly in the sense of 'a group or assemblage of persons' and that the descendants of great sages like Vasiṣṭha had come to be called collectively by the plural of the word denoting the ancestor. In the Tai. S. persons descended from a common ancestor appear to be grouped separately where it is said that the *hotṛ* must be a Bhārgava or that the Brahmā must be a Vasiṣṭha, that in the Atharvaveda and Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā, the word *gotra* appears to be used in the modern sense. In the Tāṇḍya and other Brāhmaṇas words like *Sagotra* occur in the modern sense and several prominent *gaṇas* like the Bhṛgu and Āṅgirasas with their divisions and sub-divisions are specifically referred to. For example, the Aitaśāyanas are referred to as a section of the Bhṛgu, Kāpileyas and Bābhravas as sub-sections of Viśvāmitra-*gaṇa*. In the Upaniṣads before a brahmācāri was accepted as a pupil he was asked his *gotra*. The question whether the *gotra* system had so far been extended as to apply to marriages

wished. The Vedic literature of the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* being concerned with the solemn *śrauta* sacrifices had no occasion to refer to the prohibition of marriage in the same gotra. But when the texts are so particular as to lay down that a man should stay with his *sagotra* after performing *Viśvajit* it appears to be a natural extension of the same feeling that he should be called upon to choose a wife from another group. The prohibition of *sagotra* marriage in the *sūtra* age was absolute and such a rule must have grown up only during the lapse of centuries. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that during the *Brāhmaṇa* period at least restrictions as to gotra in marriage were prevalent.

The conception of *pravara* is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. Apart from employment in invoking Agni in Vedic rites it entered in numerous ways into several domestic ceremonies and practices even according to the *gṛhya* and *dharma sūtras*. To take a few examples :—

(1) As a general rule, a bride was to be chosen whose father's *pravara* was not the same as the bridegroom's; *Mānavagṛhya* I. 7-8, *Vārāhagṛhya* 9, *Gautama-dharmasūtra* IV. 2.

(2) In *Upanayana* the *mekhalā* (girdle) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of *pravara*ṛṣi. *Vide Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya* II. 2 (and com. thereon), *Kāthaka-gṛhya* 41.13 (and com. of *Devapāla* and *Brahmabala* thereon), *Manu* II. 43.

(3) From *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhya* II. 2 (where there is a dialogue between the *ācārya* and the boy whose *upanayana* is to be performed) it appears that the *ācārya* was required to have the same *pravara* as the boy.

(4) In the *Cūḍā-karma*, the number of tufts of hair left on the head depended upon the *pravaras*. *Vide Āp. Gr. S.* VI. 16.6.

Pravara literally means 'choice' or 'invokation' (*prārthanā*). As it was usual to invoke Agni to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious ṛṣi-ancestors who in former times had invoked Agni, the word *pravara* came to denote one or more illustrious ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of

gotras may be constituted by one, two, three or five ṛṣis, but not by four. This is a very ancient rule as it appears in all śrauta sūtras. Why the number four was eschewed it is impossible to say. The vast majority of gotras have three *pravaras*. We may perhaps see in this some connection with the practice of performing śrāddha for three paternal ancestors. The system of *pravaras* is very ancient and almost goes back to the times of the Ṛgveda. The word *ārṣeya* occurs in the Ṛgveda, though the word *pravara* does not occur therein. Rg. IX.97.51 ‘(Oh Soma !), when thou art cleaned (by being passed through a *paritra*), send towards us celestial wealth and all earthly wealth ; so that thereby we may acquire riches and ṛṣihood (*ārṣeya*) resembling Jamadagni’s.’¹ In several other verses of the Ṛgveda, the same idea is conveyed though the word ‘*ārṣeya*’ or ‘*pravara*’ is not used. For example, Rg. VIII. 102.4 ‘I invoke pure (or bright) Agni who is surrounded by the sea (or wellkin) just as Aurva, Bhṛgu and Apnavāna did.’² It is a remarkable fact that according to Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra, these are three out of the five *pravaras* (Bhārgava-cyāvanā, pnavānaurva-jāmadagnyeti) of Vatsa-Bhṛguś. The Anukramaṇī ascribes Rg. VIII. 102 to a Bhārgava named Prayoga. In Rg. I.45.3 the sage exclaims ‘Oh Jātavedas, whose ordinances are great, give heed to the summons (*havam*) of Praskaṇva, as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa and Aṅgiras.’ In Rg. X. 150.5 the sage (Mṛṣika, son of Vasiṣṭha according to the Anukramaṇī) asserts ‘Agni protected in our fight Atri, Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira, Kaṇva, Trasadasyu ; Vasiṣṭha, the purohita, invokes Agni, (who is) the purohita (placed in front of) for Mṛṣika (the sage or for happiness).’ These are all *pravara* names though not of the same gotra. In Rg. VII.18.21 the sage says ‘They, who from house to house, gladdened (thee), being desirous of thee, viz. (the sage) Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee) ; may therefore happy days dawn for (these) wise men.’³ This mantra occurs in a maṇḍala which is ascribed to the clan of Vasiṣṭha and it is remarkable that it mentions

¹ ओम येन द्रविणमश्नवामाभ्यार्वेयं जमदग्निवन्नः । ऋ. IX. 97.51

² और्वमृगुवच्छुचिमन्वानवदा हवे । अग्निं स्मदवात्सलम् ॥ ऋ VIII-102.4

³ स ते प्रसादयामासुः प्रसादयामासुः प्रसादयामासुः ॥ ऋ. VII. 18.21

Parāśara (who in later mythology is a grandson of Vasiṣṭha and the son of Śakti), Śatayātu (which is equivalent to Śakti according to Sāyaṇa) and Vasiṣṭha. Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha are the pravaras according to Baudhāyana of the several branches of Parāśaras, who are a section of the Vasiṣṭhagotra.¹

Turning to the Atharvaveda, the word 'ārṣeya' occurs in it several times. In Atharva XI.1.16 the word 'ārṣeyaḥ' appears to mean 'those persons who are connected with or sprung from ṛṣis'; in Atharva XI.1.25 and 32 the word is used in the same sense 'may not (Oh Soma) those who partake of thee and who are ārṣeyas (connected with ṛṣis) suffer harm'; Atharva XI.1.26 'I whose summons is good call loudly to the brahman-rice-dish the sages and those who are connected with the sages (ārṣeyān)'; Atharva XI.1.33 'I place thee, Oh, rice-dish, among ārṣeyas, for those who are not ārṣeyas there is no portion here'; Atharva XI.1.35 '(Oh Brahman-rice-dish) thou art a heaven-going bull; go to the ṛṣis and the ārṣeyas.' Atharva XII.4.2 and 12 contain the same half verse 'he who does not desire to give the cow of the gods to the ārṣeyas when they ask for her'; the last pādas of Atharva XVI.8.12 and 13 are 'May he not be freed from the fetters of ṛṣis . . . May he not be freed from the fetters of ārṣeyas.'

This examination of the Atharvaveda passages shows that there the word ārṣeya is used in the sense of 'descendants of sages or those who are related to sages.'

In the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā VII. 46 we have a *mantra* 'May I secure to-day a brāhmaṇa, who has a worthy father and worthy grandfather (and other ancestors), who is himself a ṛṣi and an ārṣeya (sprung from a ṛṣi) and whose fee (dakṣiṇā) is of good metal.'² The same passage occurs in Tai.S.I.4.43 where we read 'rādhyāsam' for 'videyam.' In Tai. S. VI. 6.1.4 the words 'ṛṣim—ārṣeyam' of Tai S.I.4.43 are explained 'that brāhmaṇa is surely a ṛṣi and sprung from a ṛṣi who has mastered learning.'³

¹ 'Śatayātu' may mean literally 'one who is a master of a hundred magic tricks' or 'he on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised'.

² ब्राह्मणमद्य विदेयं पितृमन्तं पितृमन्त्यमृषिमाषेयं सुधातुदक्षिणम् । वाज. सं. VII-46

³ एष वै ब्राह्मण ऋषिराषेय यः शुश्रुवान् । ते. सं. VI.6.1.4

In Vāj.S.XXI.61 Agni is addressed as follows: "Oh sage (ṛṣe) and āṛṣeya (connected with or invoked by those who are sprung from ṛṣis) and grandson of sages, this sacrificer has to-day chosen thee from among many (gods) gathered together (with the idea that) 'this god (Agni) will bring to me choice wealth among the gods.'" In this case the close connection between illustrious sages and the invocation of Agni by them is prominently set forth.

In the Tai. S. the words āṛṣeya and pravara are both brought together, are used as synonyms and in the same sense as the sūtras do. In Tai. S. II.5.8.7 which refers to the Sāmīdhenī verses we read "he says 'choose ye the (fire) called *havyavāhana*' ; he chooses him (the fire) of the gods ; he chooses the āṛṣeya ; (in so doing) he does not depart from the relationship (by blood) ; and (doing so) serves for continuity. He chooses the later ones beginning from the remoter ones." In this passage 'āṛṣeyam' appears to be used in the sense 'the one or more illustrious ancestors of the Yajamāna' and reference is made to one of the two modes of mentioning the pravara-ṛṣis. In one mode the remotest ancestor is named first in a *taddhita* form, then his descendant and so on, the ṛṣi nearest the Yajamāna being mentioned last (e.g., the pravara of Bhṛgu is Bhārgava-cyāvanāpnānavānaurva-Jamādagnyeti). This is done by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire with the pravara-mantra 'Agne mahān asī brāhmaṇa Bhārata deveddha manviddha ṛṣistuta, etc.' (vide Tai S.II.5.9 and Sātāpatha I.4.2 for it). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after each pravara-ṛṣi and the remotest one is mentioned last (e.g., Jamadagnivat, Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, Cyavanavat, Bhṛguvat). When the *adhvaryu* chooses the hotṛ priest the former employs the second method of mentioning the pravaras. Tai. S. II.5.11.9 seems to refer to this second mode 'The man who knows thus and for whom they invoke his pravara (group of illustrious ancestors) prospers himself and his enemy is repulsed.'

In the Kausītaki-brāhmaṇa III.2 while speaking of the Sāmīdhenī verses we have this passage 'Now that he pronounces the list of the ancestors of the sacrificer, that is because the gods do not partake of the offering of him who has no list of ancestors;

therefore he pronounces the *ārṣeya* of the sacrificer.'¹ In the Tāndya-mahābrāhmaṇas (XX.15.9-11) it is said 'the method of its distribution (of the fee of one thousand cows) is as follows : to him who is himself learned and sprung from illustrious ṛṣis (*ārṣeyaḥ*) the gift should be made on the first day . . . to him who is himself learned, but has no *ārṣeya* (who is not sprung from illustrious ṛṣis) the gift should be made on the 2nd day ; . . to him who is not himself learned but who is sprung from (illustrious) ṛṣis the gift should be made on the third day.' In the Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa I.1.6.6 we are told 'four priests sprung from (illustrious) sages partake (of the *ādityacaru*).' This passage also occurs in Tai. Br. III.8.2. In another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa (I.4.4.2) it is said 'a brāhmaṇa who is *ārṣeya* should carry' (the fire on a piece of gold tied by *darbha* grass).

In one passage of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VI. 14 or 28.6) the word pravara seems to be used in the sense of reference or address :² "some one asks 'is the Acchāvāka addressed (like other priests) or not?' He should reply 'yes'." Here it is used on the analogy of the use of the word pravara in the sense of invocation. In the same Brāhmaṇa (VII. 25=34.7) we have an interesting question and answer. When a brāhmaṇa has been initiated (*dikṣita*) for a sacrifice it was announced in these words 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated for a sacrifice.' The question was asked 'how is the initiation of a Kṣatriya to be announced ? (*i.e.*, should the word Kṣatriya be substituted for brāhmaṇa in the formula of announcement). The reply given by the Aitareya is that 'even in the case of the Kṣatriya also the announcement is to be in the same form (*viz.*, 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated'); but with the pravara of the family priest (*purohita*). This is (certainly) that ; since he (the Kṣatriya sacrificer), having laid aside his own implements (warlike weapons) comes to the sacrifice with the weapons of the brāhmaṇa, in the form of the brāhmaṇa and having become a brāhmaṇa (for the time being), therefore they should proclaim his (Kṣatriya's) initiation (as a sacrificer) with the *ārṣeya* (pravara)

¹ अथ यजमानस्यार्षेयमाह न ह वा अनार्षेयस्य देवा इविरदन्ति तस्मादस्यार्षेयमाह ॥
कौषीतकि ब्रा. III-2

² अथाक्षर्यच्छावाकस्य प्रवरो न इति अस्तीति ब्रूयात् । ऐ. ब्रा. 28.6

of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.' In the sūtras it is often said that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have no pravaras of their own, but in their case the pravara of their purohita was to be employed or simply 'Manuvat' or Mānavaila-paurūravaseti' (*vide* Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, uttaraṣaṭka VI.15.4-5 and Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra, pravara-praśna 54). We see that the origin of this rule laid down in the sūtras is to be found in the practice recorded in the Aitareya. In the same strain is another passage of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 31=35.5) where it is said that the Kṣatriya sacrificer is not to drink soma but only the juice of the Nyagrodha tree 'He thus obtains the soma beverage in an indirect way, though he does not directly take in (drink) the soma,' for Nyagrodha is indeed the king soma indirectly (as a substitute). Though a kṣatriya he assumes indirectly the form of a brāhmaṇa by the dikṣā (consecration ceremony performed on the sacrificer) through the family priest and by the pravara of the family priest (being employed).' As regards the Nivid Sūkta of the Niṣkevalya-śāstra (*viz.*, Rg. VI. 18), the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VIII.3.=36.3) remarks 'It is a hymn of Bharadvāja; the Brhat Sāman also is seen by Bharadvāja; and is of the same nature (*saloma*) on account of connection with the same sage (having seen both). The sacrifice of the Kṣatriya which has the Brhat for its Pṛṣṭha (*i.e.*, stotra) becomes successful.' Here ārṣeya seems to be used in the sense of being connected with the same (illustrious) sage.

In the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa (Uttarabhāga III.18) we are told that when dakṣiṇā (fee) is given to one who is learned and sprung from sages (ārṣeya), thereby he prospers in the world of the gods, but if fee be given to one not learned and not sprung from sages, he (the donor) prospers only in the world of men.' *Vide* also Gopatha (Purvārdha I.5 and 8) for a similar use of ārṣeya.

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (I.4.2.3-4) also has an interesting passage on ārṣeya "He now calls on (Agni as the ancestral hotṛ). He thereby introduces him both to the ṛṣis and to the gods (as if he were to say 'of great vigour is he who has obtained the sacrifice.' This is the reason why he calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (hotṛ). He calls from the farthest end (of the sacrificer's ancestral line) downwards; for it is from the remote end downwards that people

are propagated. He (the Hotr) also thereby propitiates the lord of seniority for him (the sacrificer), for here (among men) first comes the father, then the son and then the grandson ; this is the reason why he invokes from the farthest end downwards.”¹ This shows that the three or five ancestors in whose name Agni was invoked were related by blood as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

We may briefly summarise the results as follows :—

The original meaning of the word pravara is ‘choice’ or ‘invocation of Agni’ and then it came to mean one or more illustrious ṛṣi ancestors of a man who had in former ages invoked fire to carry their offerings to the gods. Pravara according to the sūtras entered into sacrifices and was also closely connected with domestic matters, such as marriage, upanayana, caula. *Ārṣeya* is a synonym of pravara and occurs even in the Ṛgveda in the sense of ‘status of a ṛṣi, or sprung from or descendant of a ṛṣi.’ In the Ṛgveda Agni is frequently invoked by a sacrificer who says that he does so in the same way as great sages, like Jamadagni, Aurva, Bhrgu or Apnavāna did. In the Ṛg itself names of pravaras such as Parāśara and Vasiṣṭha occur. In the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā *ārṣeya* is used in the sense of ‘one sprung from a famous sage.’ In the Tai. S. *ārṣeya* and pravara are used in the same sense in which the sūtras employ them. The same sense occurs in the Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa, the Gopatha, and in the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa. The Aitareya contains interesting information about pravara ; it also says that for kings the pravaras of their purohitas were to be employed. If one may hazard a conjecture, it may be said that the gotra system was perfected first and the requirement as to pravaras in marriage was a further refinement. The treatment of gotra and pravara in the sūtra period is a very interesting and controvertial matter which must be reserved for a separate treatment.

¹ अथार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । ऋषिभ्यश्चैवैनमेतद्देवेभ्यश्च निवेदयत्ययं महावीर्यो यो यज्ञं प्रापदिति तस्माद्वार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते परस्ताद्वीच्यः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ज्यायसस्पतय उ चैवैतं निहुते । इदं हि पितृवाग्रेथ पुत्रोथ पौत्रस्तस्मात्परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते । शतपथ ब्रा. I. 4.2.3—4

SVAYAMBHŪCCHANDAS BY SVAYAMBHŪ

BY H. D. VELANKAR, M.A.

*Introduction.**

Svayambhū is an old writer on Prākṛta Metres. He is mentioned by Hemacandra and is also quoted by the commentator of the Kavīdarpaṇa. My attention was naturally drawn to this and I casually discovered in my conversation with Pandit Lalchand of the Baroda Oriental Institute that an incomplete Ms. of the Svayambhūcchandas existed in the Institute's library. I at once got a copy of it prepared for me and was very delighted to find that the work was indeed an important one from the point of the history of Prākṛta poetry and Prākṛta Metrics.

2. The Ms. is without beginning, the first 22 folios being lost. It is dated Samvat 1727 and seems to be copied from an older Ms., which, however, is evidently misread in several places by our scribe. It is for this reason that some of the stanzas cannot be properly understood. Unfortunately no other Mss. of this very valuable work are at present available. My Jinaratnakośa knows of none. I must consequently remain content with what I have got at present. In the Ms., the work is not actually divided into chapters but the repeated occurrence of a stanza indicating the conclusion of a particular topic in it suggests its division into 8 chapters. The stanzas and the metrical definitions again are not numbered. In the following edition, I have numbered the chapters as well as the stanzas for the sake of convenient reference. Out of these eight chapters, I am publishing for the present, the first three only

* The following books and papers are alluded to in the Introduction:—Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana, published by Devakaran Mulchand at N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912; Prākṛta Paṇḍalam, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1902; Virahāṅka, Vṛttajātisamuccaya, edited with Introduction and Notes in JBBRAS, 1929, 1932; Nanditāḍhya, Gāthālakṣaṇa, edited similarly in Annals BORI, 1933; Apabhramśa Metres, published, with Ratnaśekhara's Chandahkośa in the Appendix, in B.U. Journal, Nov. 1933; Kavīdarpaṇa with Com. and Introduction, published in the Annals, BORI, 1935. The last four are by H. D. Velankar.

which deal with the Akṣaravṛttas, treated wholly as Prākṛta metres by Svayambhū. I intend to publish the remaining chapters dealing with the Apabhraṃśa metres exclusively, in the appendix to my second article on the Apabhraṃśa metres in the Bombay University Journal. The following is a brief summary of the contents of the work.

3. In the available portion of the first chapter, Svayambhū defines and illustrates 63 metres under 13 different heads beginning with Śakvarī, *i.e.*, metres of four lines with 14 letters in each, and ending with Utkṛti, *i.e.*, metres of four lines, each containing 26 letters whether short or long. The portion which defined the metres containing from 1 to 13 letters in each of their four lines is lost as said above. Our author follows the old practice of defining and classifying the Akṣaravṛttas under 26 different heads, according as they contain from 1 to 26 letters in each of their four lines. Virahāṅka in his Vṛttajātisammuccaya and Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana follows this method for defining the Akṣaravṛttas which according to them are properly the Saṃskṛta metres and not the Prākṛta ones. They are very probably right as I have shown elsewhere in my article on Apabhraṃśa Metres, para 2. Our author, however, treats them as the Prākṛta metres and illustrates them from contemporaneous stray lyric poetry written in Prākṛta. I propose to discuss the nature of this poetry later on. Svayambhū's list of such metres is indeed incomplete. Like the Kavidarpaṇa, only about 100 such varieties, including those given in the lost portion of the Ms., are given by him while Hemacandra has defined 286 varieties exclusive of the Daṇḍakas. Virahāṅka gives still fewer, *i.e.*, 52 only.

4. The metres containing more than 26 letters in a line are called Daṇḍakas with the exception of Pipḍikā and three others which are designated as the Śeṣa Vṛttas by Hemacandra, p. 17b, 1.7 and Kavidarpaṇa, IV. 103. Svayambhū treats them as the amplifications of the Bhujaṅgaviṃśbhita which is the last of the Utkṛti metres. Svayambhū's definition of a Daṇḍaka is identical with that of the Kavidarpaṇa, which means that the latter has reproduced from the former, and this is often done by writers on Prākṛta metres. In this connection Svayambhū gives the method of finding out the Saṃkhvā, *i.e.*, the total number of the possible

varieties of each of the above mentioned 26 varieties. Here also is found the curious stanza quoted by the commentator of the Kavidarpaṇa, and which first attracted my attention to Svayambhū's work; cf. JBBRAS. (new series), vol. 8, p. 2. The verse mentions in particular, a school of Saṁskṛta metricians represented by Māṇḍavya, Bharata, Kāśyapa and Saitava, according to whom no Yati in the middle of a line requires to be recognized in Saṁskṛta. As instances where Yati is not observed by well-known Saṁskṛta authors, Svayambhū quotes Śrīharṣa's famous introductory stanza, i.e., *Śrīharṣo Nipuṇaḥ Kavī*, etc., where the Yati after the 12th syllable is not observed in the first line and Mayūra's Sūryaśataka, v. 43, line 3, i.e., *Tejorūpāparaiva*, etc., where also the Yati is not observed at the same place. Coming to the Daṇḍakas, Svayambhū defines and illustrates 19 in all. Kavidarpaṇa mentions only 11, while Hemacandra defines a few more than Svayambhū. Virahāṅka mentions none at all.

5. In the second chapter, the author defines the Ardhasama Vṛttas, i.e., the metres of four lines, divided into two similar halves, containing lines of unequal length. They are 14 in all, i.e., Vegavatī, Upacitrā, Calamadhyā, Hariṇapadā, Ketumatī, Ākhyānikā, Viparītākhyānikā, Aparavaktra, Puṣpitāgrā. Bhadravarāṭika, Yavavatī, Ṣaṭpadāvalī, Śikhā and Khañjā, Hemacandra mentions all these and 18 more, while Kavidarpaṇa mentions only 8. Calamadhyā and Hariṇapadā are respectively called Drutamadhyā and Hariṇoddhatā by both Hemacandra and Kavidarpaṇa. As regards the last two metres, namely Śikhā and Khañjā, they are peculiar metres made by a mixture of Gīti and Skandhaka. In Śikhā, the first and the third lines are equal to halves of a Gīti, while the second and the fourth are the halves of a Skandhaka. The reverse of this takes place in Khañjā. In both again, all letters are short except the last one. These two metres are defined in a different manner by Hemacandra, p. 21a/last line and p. 21b/1ff. But our author's definition is more practical. The substance of both is the same. According to the alternative definition given by Hemacandra, these same metres are Viśama Vṛttas with two lines each. They are only half in length of the metres as defined above. As a matter of fact, they are the Gāthini and Simhini of Piṅgala, I. 70-72, where, however, there is no restric-

tion as regards the quantity of the letters used. Hemacandra also gives these varieties again under the Prākṛta metres on p. 29a, 11.9-12. On the other hand, Piṅgala's Śikhā and Khaṇḍā are much different. The former is a Viṣamavṛtta (cf. I. 161) of two lines, the first containing 24 short letters followed by a Ragana (SIS), the second containing 28 short letters followed by a Ragana. The Khaṇḍā, however, is a Samavṛtta of two lines, each having 36 short letters followed by a Ragana. It is curious to note in this connection, that according to Hemacandra's information (p.23b/4-8), Piṅgala's Śikhā also is a Sama Vṛtta of two lines, each containing 32 Mātrās, but the first has all short and the second has all long letters in it.

6. In the third chapter, we get the Viṣama Vṛttas which contain four lines each of varying length. Thus Udgatā with its variants Saurabha and Lalita, Pracupita with its derivatives Vardhamāna, Śuddhvirāṭikā and Āvṛṣabha (this is not mentioned by Hemacandra), Śloka with its varieties like Vṛtta, Suvṛtta, Pathyā, Pathyāvṛtta and others, and lastly Padacaturrūdhva along with its derivatives like Pathyāpīḍa (Pratyāpīḍa-Hema.), Āpīḍa, Mañjarī (this is Hemacandra's Kalikā; according to him the name Mañjarī was given to this metre by Bharata), Lavalī and Amṛtadhārā are here defined and illustrated.

7. Hereafter in chapters IV-VIII, Svayambhū discusses a very large number of metres that are used in the Apabhraṃśa language. I shall discuss them in detail elsewhere; for the present, I shall merely enumerate them. Thus in chapter IV, Svayambhū defines and illustrates Utsāha, Dohā with its varieties, Mātrā of various kinds, Raddā (the only strophic metre which our author defines), Vadana, Upavadana, Maḍilā, Aḍilā, Sundarī, Hṛdayinī (Hīlīlā), Dhavala and Maṅgala. In chapter V, the 24 metres of 6 lines, divided into Jāti, Upajāti and Avajāti are merely enumerated with a few illustrations here and there (cf. Hemacandra, p. 38b/11 ff. and Kavidarpaṇa, commentary on II. 30-31, for these varieties). In the VIth chapter, the Catuspadī metres of 118 kinds (110 Ardhasama, 8 Sarvasama), and the 40 kinds of the Dvipadīs are defined with a few illustrations. Ten more Dvipadīs containing from 4 to 10 Mātrās in a line are defined without illustrations in the next, i.e., the VIIth chapter, while the last, i.e.,

the VIIIth chapter contains the definitions and illustrations of Utthakka (Hema. p. 37b/2), Madanāvatāra (not mentioned by Hema. 33b/2 among the Apabhraṃśa metres probably for the sake of convenience), and Dhruvaka, as also the 7 Chaḍḍaṇikās which are of the nature of Ardhasama Catuspadī with the exception of the last which is a Ṣaṭpadī, and the three Ghattās which also are Catuspadīs, the first two of the Ardhasama type, and the last two of the Sarvasama type, and lastly the Paddhatikā and the Dvipadī. A few illustrations are given in some cases. For the contents of the two chapters, *i.e.*, VI and VII, *cf.* Hemacandra, pp. 39-46.

8. There are many things that appear unusual in this treatment of the Prākṛta metres by Svayambhū. First of all, (a) he does not make any distinction between the Akṣaragaṇa Vṛttas and the Mātragaṇa Vṛttas. Like Virahāṅka, Svayambhū too defines even the Saṃskṛta metres (*i.e.*, the Akṣaragaṇa Vṛttas which are generally used in Saṃskṛta, *cf.* Apabhraṃśa Metres, para 2) with the Mātrā Gaṇas. Both these authors do not mention the Akṣara Gaṇas in any part of their work, yet this does not mean that they were ignorant of them. They simply chose to ignore them (*cf.* JBRRAS. 1932, p. 3). In his definitions of the various metres, Virahāṅka follows his own Paribhāṣā, which he describes fully at the beginning of his work. The author of the Kavidarpaṇa also has his own Paribhāṣā. Svayambhū on the other hand, has not followed any special Paribhāṣā, but uses such obvious terms for the Mātrā Gaṇas as DA or DAĀRA for a Dvimātra, TA, TAGAṆA TAĀRA, or TAṂSA for a Trimātra, CA, CAGAṆA, CAĀRA or CAṂSA for a Caturmātra, PA, PAGAṆA, PAĀRA or PAṂSA for a Pañcamātra, and CHA, CHAGAṆA, CHAĀRA or CHAṂSA for a Ṣaṇmātra. The different kinds of these Gaṇas are also similarly expressed by means of easily comprehensible terms. Thus 'patā puvvalā' (I. 17) means a Pagaṇa and a Tagaṇa, both with a short letter at the beginning. LA is a short letter and GA is a long one; 'cau paṃsā savvāisesantalā' (I. 31) means four Pañcamātras, having respectively all short, first short, last short, and last short letters in them; 'saalauralahū paruttaragā cha-pa-ca-ta-gaṇā' (I. 13) means a Ṣaṇmātra with all short letters (saalalahū), a Pañcamātra with a short letter in the middle (uralahū-udaralaghu), a Caturmātra with a long letter at the end

(paraga), and a Trimātra with a long letter at the end (uttaraga). The only technical terms which he uses are those for a short and a long letter as also for the various numerals. VAKRA is a long letter represented by the sign S and AVAKRA, R̥JU, or ŪRDHVA, (only once at I. 116) means a short letter represented by the sign I. These were, however, very common terms used also by Virahāṅka and Piṅgala; cf. VJS. I. 14 and the note and also Piṅgala, I. 21. Thus, 'vaṅkāvaṅkoahiparimiā' (I. 71) means long and short letters measured by Udadhi, i.e., four in number and (occurring in succession); 'vaṅkāvaṅkā maaraghararasā' (I. 87) means long and short letters (coming in succession) and resp. 4 and 6 in number (maarahara=samudra=4; rasa=6); 'vaṅkāvaṅkesū' (I. 91) means long and short letters (coming in succession), and five in number each; 'majjhajjū doppā' (I. 93) means two Pañcamātras with a short letter in the middle (madhya-r̥ju=SIS). Also cf. I. 98, 116, 133; III. 1, 7, 26 for similar expressions. (b) Another strange thing about Svayambhū is that not only does he treat the ordinary Samskr̥ta metres as the Prākṛta ones, regarding them as the Mātrā Vṛttas and defining them as such, but he totally neglects the proper Prākṛta metres discussed at great length by Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana, p. 28b and the following, and by Virahāṅka in his Vṛttajātisammuccaya, Chs. III-IV. Many of these Prākṛta metres are pure Mātrā Vṛttas (cf. 'Apabhramśa Metres, para 13), while some are mixed Mātrā and Varṇa Vṛttas (cf. *ibid.*, para 16). In the Vṛttajātisammuccaya, there are indeed a few, which must be strictly speaking regarded as the Varṇa Vṛttas; cf. *E.g.*, III. 7, 8, 20, 21, 32-34, 50, 51, 52, IV. 19, 22, 53-55, 57, 58, 61, 64, 72, 76, 77, etc. But these are obviously those Varṇa Vṛttas, which the Prākṛta poets of his days had made their own and treated for all practical purposes as the Mātrā Vṛttas or the Prākṛta metres and hence Virahāṅka defines them with Mātrā Gaṇas. (c) It is also noteworthy that among the Apabhramśa metres, which Svayambhū discusses, he does not give any prominence to couplets and triplets, which as seen elsewhere, are a prominent feature of Apabhramśa poetry in particular, though they are also found in Prākṛta; cf. Apabhramśa Metres, para 27. The only strophic metre which Svayambhū defines is Raddā (IV. 25). (d) But the important and interesting peculiarity of

Svayambhū is the illustrations which he gives for the different Sāṃskṛta-Prākṛta metres from a very large number of Prākṛta poets whose names also he gives. He quotes 206 stanzas in this manner; out of these, 128 are illustrations of the Sāṃskṛta-Prākṛta metres, while the rest are those of the Apabhraṃśa metres. The name of the poet is regularly given in the former case, while in the latter, 58 are without the name of the author. Almost all the illustrations of the Prākṛta metres are stray lyric stanzas and do not seem to be taken from any longer poems. Svayambhū indeed does not mention any *poems* by name, though I. 34, and I. 49 appear to belong to some poem, the former on a theme from the Rāmāyaṇa and the latter on that of the famous Amṛtamanthana episode (see also I. 96; 146). Most of these are love lyrics, and contain fine specimens of 'village poetry' abounding in unconventional and fresh descriptions of animate and inanimate nature usually connected with village life, though of course, there are a few, which are composed in imitation of Sāṃskṛta Court poetry, with conventional and uninteresting details. About twenty also contain the ANTYA YAMAKA which is such an important characteristic of Prākṛta poetry (*cf.* VJS. IV. 106), particularly of Apabhraṃśa and Vernacular poetry; *cf.* I. 2, 14, 16, 20, 26, 30, 34, 42, 46, 48, 49, 62, 68, 78, 80, 115, 120, 124, 130, etc. With the exception of a few, all these stanzas clearly bear the stamp of being composed by real Prākṛta poets and not by the Sāṃskṛta poets attempting to write Prākṛta poetry. There does not exist in them that fondness for compounds, for example, or for the grandiloquence which so often mars the charm of the otherwise beautiful stanzas of the Setubandha. The names of the poets also shew that they belonged to the ordinary masses and were not members of the higher circle of the Pandits. They are almost all non-Jaina, at least there is nothing in the quoted instances to shew that they are Jaina.

9. The following is a complete list, alphabetically arranged, of the authors quoted by Svayambhū:—I. Āṅgavai, I. 152, 153; Āṅgaragaṇa, I. 7, 12, 13, 28, 53, 66, 92, 99, 149, 150, 151, 163, 165, II. 2, 20, 30, 31, III. 30; Ajarāmara, II. 4; Ajjadeva, IV. 13; Abbhua, III. 2; Isahala (Viṣadhara), III. 4; Ubbhaḍa, I. 68, III. 8; Kalāpurāa, II. 22, III. 6; Kālīāsa, II. 18; Kumāraatta,

I. 130; Kumāra Somma, I. 122; Kohanta, I. 24; Guṇahara, I. 44, 46; Goinda, IV. 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26; Caummuha, IV. 2, VI. 71, 83, 86, 112; Candana, I. 70, 146; Candarāa, III. 20; Chaila, III. 15, 22, IV. 15, 30; Jaṇamaṇāṇanda, I. 94; Jīṇāsa, IV. 28; Jivadeva, I. 88, 90; Johaa, I. 175; Nāgaha, I. 33; Niṇa, I. 48, 72; Tiloṇa, I. 136; Duggasatti, II. 24; Duggasiha, II. 8, 10; Dhaṇadeva, IV. 11; Dhutta, IV. 6; Pañcamaṇāha, I. 16, 57; Bahma, I. 4; Bahmaatta, I. 82; Maūra, I. 144b; Maūradeva, I. 22, 156; Māurdeva, IV. 9; Mūladeva, I. 124, 126; Rajjautta, I. 157; Ravivappa, III. 10; Rāhā, I. 120; Lalaa, III. 27, 28; Lalahasahāva, I. 62, III. 25; Laliasahāva, II. 14, III. 13; Loṇua, II. 6, 12; Viadḍha, III. 17, IV. 31; Vijjā, I. 6; Vimalaeva, I. 117; Veāla, I. 177; Veraṇāa, I. 84, 86, 107, 109; Velāṇāa, I. 139; Silaṇiḥi, I. 96, 118; Suddhakai, I. 78; Suddharāa, I. 61; Suddhasahāva, I. 9, 10, 18, 20, 26, 30, 32, 36, 38, 51, 55, 74, 101, 115, 132, 134, 138, 159, 161, 171, 173, II. 16, 26, 27, III. 19, 31, 32; Suddhasila, I. 49, 59, 64, 80, 103, 104, 111, 113, 128, 137, 147, 148, 167, 169, III. 12, IV. 18; Suhaḍarāa, III. 18; Haraatta, I. 76; Haradāsa, I. 42; Hāla, I. 97.

10. Out of these 58 authors, as many as 48 are quoted for the Prākṛta metres and 10 only for the Apabhraṃśa ones. All except four or five are new. None except perhaps the doubtful Aṅgavai=Aṅgarāa and Hāla, are found in Weber's list given on p. LVII of the German edition of Saptasātakam of Hāla. Most of them have only one or two examples to their credit, though Aṅgāragana, Suddhasahāva, and Suddhasila have resp. 18, 27 and 16. A few of the names appear even suspicious. Thus Veraṇāa and Velāṇāa may be identical and the same may be true of Maūra, Maūradeva, and perhaps Māuradeva on the one hand and of Bahma and Bahmaatta on the other. Similarly the five names Silaṇiḥi, Suddhakai, Suddharāa, Suddhasahāva and Suddhasila are too similar to be the names of different persons. Some of these, along with the names Kalāṇurāa, Jaṇamaṇāṇanda and perhaps Veāla are significant nicknames. It is again curious to note that two among these poets are women, Rāhā and Vijjā. The many stanzas ascribed to Aṅgāragana, Suddhasahāva and Suddhasila are all in different metres and mutually disconnected. This might suggest that these stanzas were composed with a definite

purpose, *i.e.*, that of illustrating the different Prākṛta metres, which means that these authors had themselves composed treatises on Prākṛta metres and composed their own illustrations like Hemacandra. At first sight, the theory looks improbable but when we remember that at one time there did exist several works on Prākṛta metres, as is shown by me at 'Apabhraṃśa Metres,' paras 30-31, it need not be discarded at once as impossible. The names that are familiar in the above list are only those of Udbhṭa, Kālidāsa, Viṣadhara (Piṅgala) and Hāla. None of the stanzas ascribed to these poets, however, is traceable in their published works. On the other hand, the stanzas quoted in the names of Kālidāsa and Hāla are very interesting. All stanzas at present known to have been composed by Hāla are in the Gāthā metre, while the one quoted by Svayambhū is in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita. From what work of Hāla then does Svayambhū quote this verse? The quotation from Kālidāsa is still more puzzling. The only Prākṛta stanzas which are ascribed by tradition to Kālidāsa are those that occur in the IVth act of the Vikramorvaśīyam. Looking to the context of our stanza, it seems to fit in very well at that place, but is not actually found there or anywhere else in the printed editions of the work. Usually these stanzas in the Vikramorvaśīya are believed not to be written by Kālidāsa; but if our stanza is proved to belong to the Vikramorvaśīya, its ascription to Kālidāsa by Svayambhū who is at any rate earlier than 1000 A.D. must lend great support to the theory that Kālidāsa himself composed these stanzas. The stanza is beautiful and would be quite appropriate in the mouth of the unfortunate king. It describes how the Palāśa tree growing on the banks of a river, as it were offering libations of water to his deceased comrades in the forest, with his hand in the form of a single leaf of a low branch repeatedly touching the waters of the river on account of a gentle breeze of wind.

11. Among the ten poets quoted for the Apabhraṃśa metres, Govinda and Caturmukha are very important. Six stanzas from the former and five from the latter are quoted by Svayambhū. All the stanzas of each are obviously drawn from the same work: those of Govinda from a work written in the Apabhraṃśa language on the story of Harivaṃśa or perhaps the early life of Śrīkrṣṇa,

and those of Caturmukha from a similar work on the life of Śrīrāma. In the Apabhraṁśa portion of Svayambhū's work (chapters IV-VIII), there are seven more stanzas on the story of the Harivaṁśa (VI. 45, 58, 98, 102, 152, VIII. 2, 9) and nine more on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 42, 65, 68, 74, 90, 155, VIII. 21, 25, 27). These 7 and 9 stanzas, though very similar to the 6 and 5 stanzas of Govinda and Caturmukha in point of style, are nevertheless not accompanied by the names of their authors; yet it is very probable that all the 13 stanzas on the story of Harivaṁśa were composed by Govinda and similarly all the 14 stanzas on the story of Rāmāyaṇa were written by Caturmukha. Further if this inference is correct—and there is nothing which is likely to prove the contrary—we might gather one or two facts about these two Apabhraṁśa poets. Firstly, we would be able to say that Caturmukha at least was a Jaina, because one of the unnamed stanzas (VI. 27) from the Apabhraṁśa Rāmāyaṇa is clearly based on the Jaina version of the Rāmāyaṇa story. But perhaps both may have been Jaina, since Apabhraṁśa poetry was primarily developed and nursed by the Jaina laymen, as is proved by me in paras. 14-18 of my introduction to the Gāthālakṣaṇa of Nanditāḍhya (cf. Annals, BORI. 1932, vol. XIV, p. 11ff.). Secondly, the fact that no two stanzas among these 13 or 14 are composed in the same metre is not without significance. It is not impossible that both these poets composed their works primarily with the intention of illustrating the various metres in the Apabhraṁśa language. This is particularly evident since Govinda's work on the Harivaṁśa contains illustrations of almost all the varieties of the Mātrā metre, occurring in the same context of the narrative, one after the other (cf. IV. 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26).

12. The work is called Svayambhūcchandas after its author. In the stanza repeated at the end of every chapter, it is described as Pañcārṇśasārabhūta, Bahulārtha and Lakṣyalakṣaṇaviśuddha. Arṇśa means a Gaṇa, usually a Mātrāgaṇa. The word is used in this sense by old as well as new writers on Prākṛta metres; cf. Virahāṅka, I. 15, 18, 20, etc., Nanditāḍhya, vv. 7, 9, 12, etc., Ratnaśekhara, Chandahkośa, vv. 52-54. The five Arṇśas or the Mātrāgaṇas which are generally used in defining Mātrāvṛttas are those that contain resp. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 Mātrās in them. They are

called *da*, *ta*, *ch*, *pa*, *ṣa* by Hemacandra and *ka*, *ca*, *ṭa*, *ta*, and *pa* by Kavidarpaṇa. Svayambhū's work is intended to be 'the essence of (metres) based on these five Mātrā Gaṇas,' and also to give the definitions with illustrations of these essential metres. Svayambhū is an old writer. He is mentioned, (*i.e.*, I. 106), as a respectable author along with Bharata and Piṅgala by Hemacandra, at Chandonuśāsana, p. 14a/16. The opinion that there exist two different schools with regard to the Yati (*i.e.*, cæsura) in the middle of a line of the Samskr̥ta metres seems to have been expressed first by Svayambhū. The school which disregards this Yati is according to him, represented by Māṇḍavya, Bharata, Kāśyapa and Saitava. All these are ancient writers and are often mentioned by Virahāṅka and Hemacandra. This studied disregard of Yati does not seem to have greatly impressed the people and seems to have been given up in course of time. We would probably not have known it, if Svayambhū had not recorded it. This verse from Svayambhū (I. 144) is quoted by the commentator of the Kavidarpaṇa on I. 8. Svayambhū IV. 36 again seems to have been reproduced by the same commentator without mentioning his name on Kavidarpaṇa, II. 32. Svayambhū I. 140 is also borrowed at Kavidarpaṇa, IV. 103. At present I do not know of any other references to either Svayambhū or his work in older works on Metre; cf. however, Annals, BORI., vol. XIV. p. 2.

13. Svayambhū was very probably a Jaina monk. The last few stanzas of the work warrant such a conclusion. Besides, in illustrating the Daṇḍaka called Kāmabāṇa, he merely quotes the beginning of a stanza in that metre composed by one Vetāla, who obviously was a Jaina writer. The verse in question contains the praise of Mahāvīra and when Svayambhū quotes merely the beginning of it, he means that the verse was very well-known and therefore did not require to be quoted in full. Had Svayambhū been a Hindu writer he would probably not have done so, since a Hindu poet is not expected to either consider or mean that a stanza of Jaina devotional poetry was well-known. In another place, Svayambhū indeed quotes in a similar manner a stanza (144C) from Mayūra's Sūryaśataka, but this is perfectly natural and must not lead us to suppose that he was therefore a Hindu! Because, as described by me in para. 14 of my introduction to the Gāthālakṣaṇa,

(cf. Annals, BORI., vol. XIV, p. 11), the Jainas were necessarily compelled to study the important Kāvya and Nāṭakas of the Hindus for getting a good knowledge of the Sānskr̥ta language. To a Jaina Pandit, therefore, these Kāvya and Nāṭakas were as well-known as they were to a Hindu Pandit; but the latter was not expected to be so very well acquainted with the devotional literature of the Jainas. Thirdly, it must be remembered that the Apabhraṁśa literature appears to have been mainly developed by the Jainas, and the Svayambhūcchandas which assigns such a prominent place to the Apabhraṁśa metres must ordinarily have been composed by a Jaina. At least no Hindu author has yet been known who has either written Apabhraṁśa poetry, or has contributed in any significant manner to its development.

14. Svayambhū must have lived in the 10th century of the Christian era, at the earliest. The manner in which he is quoted by Hemacandra shows that he was separated from the latter at least by a century or so. But we cannot push him too far back and consider him as having lived a few years after the two well-known poets of the 7th century, i.e., Śrīhaṛṣa and Mayūra, both of whom are quoted by Svayambhū at I. 144a, 144b. The developed state of the Apabhraṁśa literature which is reflected in his treatment of the Apabhraṁśa metres clearly shows that Svayambhū cannot be assigned to such an early date.

श्री स्वयम्भूच्छन्दः ।

परन्तगा सअलमुहाइपुव्वला । हुवन्ति ते किर रुइरा तआरआ ॥ १ ॥

रुइरा तस्सेअ—

सुसामिए णिवल्लिए अमग्गिआ । समोत्तिआ गअमअतिम्मिआङ्गिआ ॥

मिलन्तच्छप्पअरवमुक्कण्ठिआ । धराअले रुअइव खग्गलट्ठिआ ॥ २ ॥

चउच्चा परोरणिहणोरगा गुरू । जइ संहुवन्ति चरणेसु णान्दिणी ॥ ३ ॥

णन्दिणी वम्हस्स—

किसि(मि)णो ससी ण स दिवा विराजए

किमणंगओध(व्व ?)गदुमस्स कोसुमं ।

इअ संसआणुवगअस्स मे मई

तइ दिट्ठए ण लइए विणिच्चअम् ॥ ४ ॥

अइजअई सम्मत्ता । सकरी वोत्तवा ।

छन्दे वसन्ततिलए चउचा सपंसा । सव्वन्तरन्तपरगा मुहलावसेसा ॥ ५ ॥
वसन्ततिलअं विजाए—(दिवाअरस्स—note)

उट्ठण्डकोअणदकोमलकोसकन्ती

कन्ताकुचगगहणकंटइअप्पकोट्ठो ।

सित्तिआइरिउचारुविलासिणीणं

सम्माणदाणभअभोअकरो करो दे ॥ ६ ॥

अहवा अङ्गारगणस्स—

कण्णप्पलं घुसिणत्तित्तकवोल्लोलं

वालाइ दुद्धधवलच्छिपहाविहिण्णम् ।

पावेइ णीलमणिमोत्तिअपम्मराअ—

चित्तस्स पिच्छमिव कामसरस्स सोहम् ॥ ७ ॥

दो दोण्हि मज्झे णिहणसअल्ला पंसा ।

एसासंवाहा सअलगुह्ठआराणं ॥ ८ ॥

असंवाहा सुद्धसहावस्स—

अव्वो बालाए विसमरअसमत्ताए

अन्दोलन्तेणं पिहुलचलणित्तवेणम् ।

माहो कामङ्गं हरह सुरअभंडारं

कंचीपालंबो धरइव कणिरो दारम् ॥ ९ ॥

अवरं च तस्सेअ—

पेच्छन्ताए णिब्भरसुरअसमत्ताए

लोलुद्धा पाआ विडकडिअडमारुढा ।

णम्हेहिं दिण्णं बहुजणमिव सण्णन्ते

हाहाहो सुट्ठं उअ गहवइस्सव्वस्सं ॥ १० ॥

लहुतगणजुअं दोण्हि पा लावसाणा

तह गुरुजुअलं जीअ णन्दीमुही सा ॥ ११ ॥

णन्दीमुही अङ्गारगणस्स—

पसरइ पुलओ सेदबिन्दू गलन्ति

फुरइ अहरओ जंपणं जाइ हासं ।

थरहरइ मणो णिच्चला ठाइ दिट्ठी

इअ विविहरसा होन्ति दिट्ठे पिआम्मि ॥ १२ ॥

सअलउरलहूपरुत्तरगावरा

छपचतगणआ इमा अपराइआ ॥ १३ ॥

अपराइआ तस्सेअ —

करमुद्दकमले भुआगलणालए

णअणकुवलए पओहरहसए ।

अलअभलिउले णिअंवजलोहए

रमइ पिअअमो सरेव्व कलत्तए ॥ १४ ॥

परगुरुदुमुणी पहरणकलिआ ॥ १५ ॥

पहरणकलिआ पंचमणाहस्स —

पिअ घणसमए परिहर गमणं

सुर-सरि-पुलिणमिपव रम रमणं ।

खणमवि विरहं ण सहइ हिअअं

पअणुत्तणअले जलमिव ठिअअम् ॥ १६ ॥

लहुगुरुछजुअं तत्तो पता पुव्वला

करिमअरभुआ छन्दे पलत्ता इमा ॥ १७ ॥

करिमअरभुआ सुद्धसहावस्स —

रिउरुहिरजले माअंगगाहाकुले

हअअविहए छतोहफेणुज्जले ।

णरसिरकमले खग्गावलीमीणए

रमइ रणसरे हंसोव्व णाहो महम् ॥ १८ ॥

रविलहुपरगुरुजुअमुवचित्तम् ॥ १९ ॥

उवचित्तं सुद्धसहावस्स —

अवडिअणइअडविअडकुड्डुअं

अलअणविडभडकडि गलिअह्माम् ।

सरहसरअरसवसपुसिओसं

जरणमिवरवसहसइमतोसं ॥ २० ॥

लच्छी पंचग्गेणा जेहिं पूरन्ति ते ला ॥ २१ ॥

लच्छी मऊरदेअस्स —

वित्थिण्णाआसरणे सूरदावाग्गिड्डे

संज्ञाजालाफुलिगे तारआछारपुजे ।

दुक्खं विज्ञाअमाणे कालकीलामसिद्धे
पेच्छ धुम्माअमाणं केत्तकोलित्तखण्डम् ॥ २२ ॥

दिप्पंचं तेहरव्वं ला पूरणे जोण्हिआ ॥ २३ ॥

जोण्हिआ कोहन्तस्स—

आसासाहासुसोहं संज्ञापहापल्लवं
तारापब्भारफुल्लं थोरक्कपिक्कं फलं ।
अल्लीणेणङ्कपविखं धन्तालियोओज्झिअं
एअं पेच्छाहि कन्ते आआसकप्पहुमम् ॥ २४ ॥

गच्छो पा लोअरा दो चता परगा जआ ॥ २५ ॥

जआ सुद्धसहावस्स—

राहाए तारहारे थणे पडिविविअं
कण्हं बालाइ दट्ठुं बलोत्ति पलजिअम् ।
णाउं रिठ्ठारिणावि पिआ इअ मुद्धिआ
गाढं धेतूण कण्ठे उणो अवगूहिआ ॥ २६ ॥

सक्करी सम्मत्ता ॥ १४ ॥ अइसक्करी वोत्तव्वा ॥

लहुगुरुल्लजुआओ पुव्वला दोणिण पंसा
जणमणहरपाआ मालिणी एरिसी सा ॥ २७ ॥

मालिणी अंगारगणस्स—

धवलमिअ कवोलं चच्चिअं चंदेणं
कअमिव अवअंसं केअईपल्लवेणं ।
गअमिव सवणंतं दन्ततालंकमेकं
उअ ससहरबिम्बं वासवासावद्दए ॥ २८ ॥

सअलमुहल पा दो; दुचा उरगा; गुरु
सुकइजणपलत्ता इमा उवमालिणी ॥ २९ ॥

उवमालिणी तस्सेअ—

सुहअ पसिअ माणं पुणो ण कुणन्तिआ
तुह चलणपणामं गआवि ण रत्तिआ ।
ण लहइ तणुअंगी मणंपि सुहच्छिअं
अणुणअ पिअपासं पसणमुहच्छिअम् ॥ ३० ॥

जइ उण चउपंसा सञ्वाइसेसंतला ।

गुरुणिहणमिणं तं चंदुज्जुअं भण्णए ॥ ३१ ॥

चंदुज्जुअं सुद्धसहावस्स—

अहिणवससिलेहा संज्ञाअवाअंविआ

सहइ कसणमेहे विज्जुप्पहाभासुरे ।

उअ पसरिअजीहे कालस्स काले मुहे

जअकवलविलुद्धा दाढव्व रत्तोळिआ ॥ ३२ ॥

सत्तता लहुत्तरा गुरुं च जत्थ तोलअम् ॥ ३३ ॥

तोलअं णागहस्स—

एत्थअन्तराम्मि वेअमुक्कवाणजालअं

वारिऊरपूरि उण्णमन्तमेहकालअम् ।

जुज्झमज्झतक्खणुग्गउग्गरोसपुण्णअं

धाइअं पवङ्गमाण रक्खसेन्दसेण्णअम् ॥ ३४ ॥

दसचउलहुपरगुरु अ ससिअला ॥ ३५ ॥

ससिअला सुद्धसहावस्स—

फुडिअकमलकुवलअसरणिअरा

परिमलमिलिअममिअभमरउला ।

ससहराकिरणधवलधराणिअला

कमिह ण हरइ सरअदिणकमला ॥ ३६ ॥

वसुसिरिकअजइ मणिगुणणिअरो ॥ ३७ ॥

मणिगुणणिअरो सुद्धसीलस्स—

घणरसणमुहलचलरमणअलं

समपहरमिलिअकलमणिअरवम् ।

समसलिलणिवहविअलिअतिलअं

उअ हरइ तरुणिवरविसमरअम् ॥ ३८ ॥

विज्जूमालाहितो दोप्पा लोअरा गं च चित्ता ॥ ३९ ॥

चित्ता तस्सेअ—

णट्ठो जेट्ठो दिट्ठा मेहा विज्जुपुज्जो सचावो

धारासारत्थोरत्थम्बत्थिप्पिरं अन्तरिक्खम् ।

रणे रणे मोरा सदाअन्ति हा हन्त एण्हि
 अत्ता पत्ते वासारत्ते पंथिआ मा मरन्तु ॥ ४० ॥
 अइसकरी सम्मत्ता ॥ १५ ॥ अठ्ठी वोत्तव्वा ।

लहूगुरू गिरन्तरा जहिं स पंचचामरो ॥ ४१ ॥

(पंच) चामरो हरदासस्स—

वणोहवारिथोरथंबतिन्तणित्तगन्धआ
 सभुग्गमन्तमन्दमन्दकन्दलंकुरिल्लआ ।
 सिल्लिधगंधलुद्धमुद्धच्छप्पअंधआरिआ
 जणेइ दुःखआइं पंथिआण रण्णभूमिआ ॥ ४२ ॥

अठ्ठा लहुत्तरा जहिं स चित्तसोह एस ॥ ४३ ॥

चित्तसोहो गुणहरस्स—

दुण्णिवारवारणेन्दतिक्खखग्गछिण्णएहिं
 मुक्कहक्कणीसरन्तवाणधारतिण्णएहिं ।
 वीरतुंडमुंडखंडटक्कछिण्णदुग्गमेहिं
 एरिसेवि आहवे स वीरओ विलासमेइ ॥ ४४ ॥

सत्तता लहुत्तरा गुरुइअं च चित्तमेअम् ॥ ४५ ॥

चित्तं तस्सेअ—

सक्काववंकभावभूलआभअक्कराइं
 गच्छमाणराअहंसदीहपन्तिदन्तुराइं ।
 विप्फुरन्तविज्जुलाललाविअग्गजीहआइं
 पंथिआण धाविआइं पाउसम्भरक्खसाइं ॥ ४६ ॥

अन्तमुहाइसव्वसअलसअललहुणो ।

छत्तगणा गुरुं च गअवरविलसिअअम् ॥ ४७ ॥

गअवरविलसिअअं णिउणस्स—

हा महुमासबंधु विअसिअकमलसर
 दिण्णससक्कमेत्तसुइरकरपसर ।
 कथं गओसि गिम्ह जलहरवमुहलं
 थंबथिरंसुएहिं सुअइव गअणअलम् ॥ ४८ ॥

अहवा सुद्धसिलस्स—

मन्दरदिण्णघाअतलभिडिअसलिलअं
पाअडपोम्मराअमणिकिरणरुहिरअम् ।
तक्खणदिठ्ठसत्ताठिअसिडिलफुरणअं
दीसइ दोदलंविअ मअरहराहिअअम् ॥ ४९ ॥

दो छा दोप्पा सअलमुहगा पुव्वाइल्लगुरू ।
एकं गन्तं मअणललिअं छन्दम्मि पअए ॥ ५० ॥

मअणललिअं सुद्धसहावस्स—

दोलालोलं सणिअसणिअं माअन्दगहणे
अन्दोलन्ति तरुणिविडअं णाहङ्कपडिअम् ।
कासुच्छङ्गे रईमव ठिअं दठ्ठूण पहिओ
मुच्छं पत्तो णिअअघरिणीकीडं सुमरिउं ॥ ५१ ॥

भणइ सअललहुअमचलादिहिमिह ॥ ५२ ॥

अचलदिही अङ्गारगणस्स—

विछुलिअचिउरमहरअलकअवण—
मविरलपुलअभरिअथणजुअमवि ।
रइरससणिअमणिअमुहलिअमिह
सहइ सुरअमविरअमइ सहि तुह ॥ ५३ ॥
अट्ठी सम्मत्ता ॥ ५६ ॥ अइअट्ठी वोत्तव्वा ॥

उरन्तउअरन्तवक्कचगणा पता पुव्वला ।
हुवन्ति चलणेसु जीअ पुहवी इमा पाअए ॥ ५४ ॥

पुहवी सुद्धसहावस्स—

विउद्धकरपङ्कआ मुहमिअङ्कजोणहुनलो
विणिहणअणुप्पला अलअघोळ्ळिरिन्दिन्दिरा ।
पओहररहङ्गिआ गहिरणाहिरुन्दद्रहा
सरिव्व सरउब्भवा कमलगोरिआ सोहए ॥ ५५ ॥

पछा दोप्पा चंसो मुहलतिगुरू सव्वगरला ।
गआरन्तो सेसो हुवइ चलणे सा सिहरिणी ॥ ५६ ॥

सिहरिणी पंछमणाहस्स—

वरं लद्धो बन्धो सअलगुणमन्ते वुहगणे
 वरं दीहं कालं गिरिगहणमज्जे णिवसिमम् ।
 वरं दुट्ठेणासीविसविसहरेणावि रमिअं
 ण संजाअं रब्बं पिसुणपरिवारेण सहिमम् ॥ ५७ ॥

मन्दकन्ता तिसुहगुरुखा पुव्वलं पत्तअं च ॥ ५८ ॥

मन्दकन्ता सुद्धसीलस्स—

हारालगं भसलमुहलं हारिपुण्णाअदामं
 केसासत्तं सरसमउअं मालिअं मालईए ।
 कण्णासत्तं णवदलजुआलङ्किएकं कलंब
 मेहालोए मरणहिअआ देइ दुप्पंथिअज्झा ॥ ५९ ॥

दो च्छेइल्ला उरलपगणा जिस्सा इमा हारिणी ॥ ६० ॥

हारिणी सुद्धराअस्स—

ठेरं चंदं तरुणतरणि दट्ठूण पुव्वण्हए
 बुद्धं लद्धावसरमिव तं हासं गअं पङ्कअम् ।
 दोसग्गाही असअलअलो खत्थो खई खामओ
 वंको मित्तोवरि सइ ठिओ जो तस्स कत्तो सिरी ॥ ६१ ॥

वंसअलम्मि सव्वतिअला चउकलणिहणा

अन्तमुहाइसव्वपरसव्वलहुअपरगा ॥ ६१ ॥

वंसअलं ललहसहावस्स—

दाहिणमारुएण परिदट्ठसुरहितरुणा
 माहवमासअम्मि हसिअव्व सअलतरुणा ।
 तुम्ह मई च एत्थ पणिअं णिसुणउ मलओ
 वेप्पइ अण्ह(म्ह ?) कस्स सुहओत्तिअ परिमलओ ॥ ६२ ॥

कोविअ वंसवत्तललिअंति पभणइ इमम् ॥ ६३ ॥

वंसवत्तं सुद्धसीलस्स—

भूरि तलाअवारि विमलं कुवलअपउरं
 पोम्मपलावसन्तिरुइरं विअगणमणिअम् ।

णेच्छइ चाअओ कअदिही सुरवइविहिअं
चुंबइ वंसवत्तवाडिअं जललवमवि सो ॥ ६४ ॥

पगुणपगणा दोछा वंका पुव्वला पा अ पोम्मम् ॥ ६५ ॥

पोम्मं अङ्गारगणस्स—

विसमसुरए केसामेडो घोळिरो मन्दमन्दं
सहइ समअं उत्थंघेणं थोरहारेण रम्मो ।
उअह तरुणा सा हो कोसं बालिआए णिअम्वं
कसणधवलो मज्झे दिण्णो वम्महेणं पडोव्व ॥ ६६ ॥

उरलपगणा दो छेइल्ला तं चेअ सा रोहिणी ॥ ६७ ॥

रोहिणी उब्भडस्स—

फडहिगहणं दूरे छत्तं रण्णं करंजाउलं
सरआदिअहो पिका साली वाईजलं सीअलम् ।
वसइ स पिओ तस्सि एक्को अत्तावि तत्तो सअं
उअह विगआ भत्तं घेत्तुं सूए पलोहं घअम् ॥ ६८ ॥

हरिणिचरणे पंसो छंसो तिअद्ध(अंच?) चआरआ ॥

सअललगुरू सव्वोरब्भन्तरालगुरूगुरू ॥ ६९ ॥

हरिणी चन्दणस्स—

मलअपवणो चंदालोओ वसन्तसमागमो
परहुअरवो वीणुग्गारो रसो जरढच्छुणो ।
ण तह मिलिआ एदे सव्वे जणान्ति मइं दिहिं
सुरअसमए ओल्लालावो जहा सहि वल्लहो ॥ ७० ॥

भावकन्ता विसमजगणा पआरगणुत्तरा ।

वंकावंकोअहिपरिमिआ उराइगुरूरला ॥ ७१ ॥

भावकन्ता णिउणस्स—

चंदो वंको कलुसहिअओ रवी करचण्डओ
पारावारो पअइजलही सिही आविणीअओ ।
सको सको विसमणअणो हरो सगओ हरी
णाहो मज्झं उण णिसुवमो अणेअगुणालओ ॥ ७२ ॥

अइअट्टी सम्मत्ता ॥ १७ ॥ दिही वोत्तव्वा ॥

मन्दकन्ता छलहुअजठरा जत्थ सा चित्तलेहा ॥ ७३ ॥

चित्तलेहा सुद्धसहावस्स—

थोभातंवा अहिअतणुइआ वीअचंदस्स लेहा

लग्गा णिन्दे सरअघणथणे वंक्कवक्का विहाइ ।

रणं (न्तुं?) सेच्छं गअणतलिमए दिव्वसंझावहूए

वच्चतेणाहिमकरवइणा णक्खखत्तिव्व दिण्णा ॥ ७४ ॥

छलहुछगुरुआ दोप्पा जिस्सा पुव्वला चन्दमाला ॥ ७५ ॥

चन्दमाला हरअत्तस्स—

उअ भमलउलं चत्तुज्जाणं वच्चमाणं कहिपि

किर कमलमिणं बालापाए भोलिमाए णिलीणम् ।

कलमुहलरवं तं से सोउं एक्कदव्वाहिलासं

णिवसह णिलए मा हो अम्हं णेउरं कूजिअंव ॥ ७६ ॥

दोणिण लहू हुवन्ति जइ गअवरविलसिअए

छत्तगणन्तअम्मि भणइ तमिह भमरवअम् ॥ ७७ ॥

भमरवअं सुद्धकइस्स (णिउणस्स—foot-note)—

मेहकआहिसेअजलपसमिअरअणिअरा

णच्चिरचच्चरीअरवसुहल्लिअकुमुअसरा ।

उग्गअचन्दबिबकरधवलिसअलदिसा

कस्स दिहि ण देइ भण मणहरसरअणिसा ॥ ७८ ॥

छो चत्तारि चउक्कला पणिहणा सव्वन्तउरगा ।

अन्तासेसविरामगा अ तमिणं सहूलललिअम् ॥ ७९ ॥

सहूलललिअं सुद्धसीलस्स—

बाला बालमिअङ्कवक्कभुमआ दीहच्छिजुअला

रत्तासोअणवल्लपल्लवपआ बिम्बाहरदला ।

लोआणन्दिररुन्दचन्दमुहिआ माल्लरथणिआ

सव्वाणंचिअ संघडन्ति ण विणा पुण्णेहिं धणिआ ॥ ८० ॥

सव्वासेसाई परुरउरगा चआरगणा इमे ।

तस्सि मज्झन्ते पगण; गुरुणा भणन्ति कुरङ्गिअम् ॥ ८१ ॥

कुरङ्गिअं बम्हअत्तस्स—

संगामारंभे सुहृदबहुले सुराणवि दारुणे
विच्छिण्णं सासं अरिहरिणा किणाविअ राङ्गा ।
सीसक्कन्तं भमइ गअणे अथोवरि संठिअं
मिप्पिडावत्थं गअमिव खणं कुलालपभामिअम् ॥ ८२ ॥

जइ हरिणिमुहे एक्को अण्णो लहू लल्लिअं इमम् ॥ ८३ ॥

लल्लिअं वेरणाअस्स—

पहअसलिलए धारासारे णहंगणखम्भए
पसारिअणिविले वासारत्ते घणेहिं कलंकिए ।
सरअदिणसिरीलोहारीए सअत्थिअघोइए
उअ रविपडिमासाणच्छित्ते फुरन्ति किरत्तिचो ॥ ८४ ॥

जइ हरिणिआमज्झिल्लो छंसो इसो हरिणीपअम् ॥ ८५ ॥

हरिणीपअं तस्सेअ—

‘तणुइतणुई दूरं जाआ कीस’?; ‘एस सहावओ’
‘सुसुहि मल्लिणा दीणाआरा किं’?; ‘सआ घरकम्मअम्’
‘भरसि अहवा अम्हणं किं’?; सुक्कमण्णु णिरुत्तरा
णवर पइणा आलिगेउं गेहिणी परिउंविआ ॥ ८६ ॥

वंकावंका मअरहररसा गमज्झदुआचलम् ॥ ८७ ॥

अचलं जीवदेअस्स—

‘सव्वा भूमी णरसिरभरिआ सलोहिअकइमा
मग्गो सुण्णो हरिहरपमुहा सुरावि समागआ ।
कत्तो गच्छ’ अमुणिअणिलअं भणन्तमिवाउलं
कंठच्छिण्णं भमइ भडसिरं णहच्चि(म्मि?)अ केवलम् ॥ ८८ ॥

रुदाहिनतो परलहुपजुअं एक्को गुरु केसरम् ॥ ८९ ॥

केसरं तस्सेअ—

णो दठ्ठवं परमणसहिअं दुठ्ठकुराणं मुहं
णो सोअवं खलजणवअणं वज्जासणीसणिहं ।
णो वोत्तवं किणजणवदे देहित्ति दीणक्खरं
साहिप्पाअं णड इव समरे उदं कवन्धं ठिअम् ॥ ९० ॥

वंकावंकैसू परलपजुअं दो गआरावसाणं

णिदिहा एसो कुसुमिअलअवेलिआ छन्दअम्मि ॥ ९१ ॥

कुसुमिअलअवेलिआ अङ्गारगणस्स—

दठ्ठुं सालत्तं चरणजुअलं सत्थरे पन्थिअस्स

अव्वो किं एअं णवरगलिअं कङ्कणं वन्दणठ्ठम् ।

अज्जं ऊढाए उअह चरिअं माउआए वडूए

अम्हाणं जेहा भणिअ सणिअं वन्दिअं पंसुलीए ॥ ९२ ॥

इसुरसलगा मज्झज्जू दोप्पा गं च साणङ्गुलेहा ॥ ९३ ॥

अणङ्गुलेहा जणमणाणन्दस्स—

कणअमइआ अम्हेकाजाई वट्ठिमा एत्थ अम्हं

कमलमउअं कत्तो संपत्तं कुण्डलं गण्डदेसम् ।

उअह अहअं पाएणालिद्धं णिविसेसा हआसा

कहइव जणे सोएणाउण्णं णेउरं ओरसन्तम् ॥ ९४ ॥

दिही संमत्ता ॥ १८ ॥ अइदिही वोत्तव्वा ॥

छो चा तिण्णि दुपा दआरणिहणा सव्वन्तमज्झन्तगा

लन्तो लन्त गुरू जहिं च तमिणं सडूलविकीडिअम् ॥ ९५ ॥

सडूलविकीडिअं सीलिणिहिस्स—

किं सेअदिसिरं जआ दससिरं हन्तुं गओ राहओ

आणीअं कइणा पअण्डगइणा सेउस्स केणम्पि हु ।

चिन्तन्ते च सआ णहंगणगआ दठ्ठूण जं खेचरा

कत्तो सामलए गिरिम्मि मलए सिंगं ससंकुज्जलम् ॥ ९६ ॥

अहवा हालस्स—

कामं पुप्फधणुं सकोसुमसरं तुण्णं तिअच्छाहअं

सोउं ज जुवईजणो ण कुविओ तं अत्थि से कारणम् ।

हेलासज्झजअं समत्तमिणमोपाअन्तरालीकअं

केसाकेसिणिबन्धणाविअजअं एत्थम्ह को मल्लओ ॥ ९७ ॥

वंकज्जू बाणा मुहतिपगणा (?) जत्थ तं पुप्फदामम् ॥ ९८ ॥

पुष्पदामं अङ्गारगणस्स—

झंकारोलीणं परहुअविहं; सुन्दरा सिन्दुवारा
पुष्णाआसोआ; विअसिअकमला हंसमोहा सरोहा ।
कामेणेआइं गहिअमहिअलोलम्भिआ सा मअच्छी
उम्माहो डाहो हुवइ अणसणं तेण तिस्सा विओए ॥ ९९ ॥

से सूरहिन्तो परलहुपजुअं गं चन्दविम्बं इमम् ॥ १०० ॥

चन्दविम्बं सुद्धसहावस्स—

संझाराइल्लं गहगणसबलं थोउग्गिअं जोहिअं
गाढं ओढेउं इअविहसइरं कोडुंभिअं वणिणअम् ।
ठेरं विच्छाआ त्हासिअजरअरं रोलारिउं भक्करं
दट्टव्वा भव्वा उअह णहासिरो सोमं सिआ सीअलम् ॥ १०१ ॥

रसा दो रम्भाए मुहलपरगा दोणिण पा लोअरा गम् ॥ १०२ ॥

रम्भा सुद्धसीलस्स—

णिमाचंढालोए विरहविहुरो सोअसंभन्तचित्तो
फुडं णिद्धामोए ण लहुण रइं चक्को पोम्मसण्डे ।
खणं अप्पच्छाआघडिअसलिले मज्जिउम्मिल्लमाणो
गओ तीरातीरं करुणमुहलो जाअजाआविओओ ॥ १०३ ॥

इमच्चेअ च्छाआ जइ रसजुआ पा दोणिण लन्ता गुरु ॥ १०४ ॥

छाआ तस्सेअ—

हला दिट्ठा लिट्ठा विगअकुसुमा णिणेहमूला हआ
इमा मुक्कामोआ अलअजरठा संजाअसेअप्पफला ।
बलामोडिज्जन्ती तहवि महुणा मासेण सव्वज्झिअं
कहं बुट्ठुसाढं गलिअमअणं जेठं गआ कोहली ॥ १०५ ॥

इहाइच्चाहिन्तो उरगचजुअं गुरु मअरन्दिआ ॥ १०६ ॥

मअरन्दिआ वेरणाअस्स—

पिए रेवातीरे भरसि रमेअं मणोहरकाणणे
गए वासारस्से सरअसमए सअन्दपओसए ।
कअं गासद्धसे किसलअदलं मुहाहि मुहं तुहं
ठिअं चित्ते कन्तं इअ सुमारिउं करी परिमुच्छिओ ॥ १०७ ॥

अइदिही सम्मत्ता ॥ १९ ॥ कई वोत्तव्वा ॥

रसास्सा सोहाए सुहलपरगुरु दोणि पा लोअरा गम् ॥ १०८ ॥
सोहा तस्सेअ—

इमं जम्माउव्वं पिअअम ण मए सिक्खिअं कोणुवन्धो
तुमं एक्कगाही सुहअ ण सुणिमो कुप्प मा जप्पमाणो ।
अलं सव्वज्ञेसु पअलिअपुलआ चुंबिरो दीहरच्छी
गआ णाहीहुत्तं कलमणिअरवा लिङ्गदिण्णगहत्था १०९ ॥

गदी पदी अ दोग्गा मुहसअलपारन्तला चित्तमाला ॥ ११० ॥
चित्तमाला सुद्धसीलस्स—

एण्ह एत्थम्ह गामे सुलहवसही दुक्करं पंथिआणं
एक्को देइणिवासे तरुणपहिओ संपइच्चेअ सुत्तो ।
कन्तां चित्ते ठवेअं घणघणरवे तेण तं कांपे गीअं
कठ्ठं दठ्ठूण जेण करुणहिअओ होइ लोओ असेसो ॥ १११ ॥

दोच्चा चत्तारि पंसा सअलसअलगा पुव्वंगमुहला ।
सेसंसे गावराई जइ गुरुसहिओ एसा सुवअणा ॥ ११२ ॥

सुवअणा तस्सेअ—

पारावारो अमेओ खअवअराहिओ मज्झा अ वसही
णिच्चं पूरिजमाणो जइवि परिमिअं से तंचिअ जलम् ।
रेवावाहो समुदं भरइ सविसअं विंझं च सअलं
आजम्मन्तं वहन्ता अखलिअपसरा दीसन्ति विरला ॥ ११३ ॥
कई सम्मत्ता ॥ २० ॥ पअई वोत्तव्वा ॥

सअलमुहाइसव्वणिहणाइलहू णिहणन्तपारगा ।

णवतिअला ताहिं च किर सत्तमचेण भणन्ति सिद्धिअम् ॥ ११४ ॥

सिद्धी सुद्धसहावस्स—

विअसिअकुन्दसन्दमअरन्दणिरन्तरकासहासआ

कमलमिलन्तलोलभसलावलिरुद्धणहन्तरालआ ।

पुलिणभमन्तचन्दकिरणाहअहंसविइणसोहआ

सरआणिसा हरन्ति भण कंव ण पंथिअसत्थमोहआ ॥ ११५ ॥

दोच्चा वक्ता ; सुहंगप्पढमसुहपुराउद्ध पा सद्धराए ॥ ११६ ॥

सद्धरा विमलएवस्स—

भदं जुत्तप्पमाणं कसणघणणिहं दाणउब्भिण्णगण्डं
चण्डं उद्धण्डसुंढं सुरहिमभजलोसितपाअप्पदेसम् ।
मत्तं भिंगोपगीअं रविअरतविअं कण्णतालोपवीअं
एअं पेच्छाहि कन्ते कमलिणिणिलअं वच्चमाणं गइदम् ॥ ११७ ॥

अहवा सीलणिहिस्स—

जत्तो पेसेइ दिट्ठि सरसकुवलआपीडरूअं सरूआ
सुद्धा इद्धं सलीलं सवणविलसिरं दन्तकन्तीसणाहम् ।
तत्तो कोअण्डमुट्ठी णिहिअवरसरो गाढमावद्धल्लो
दूरं आणाविहेओ पसरइ मअणो पुव्वमारूढवक्खो ॥ ११८ ॥
पअई समत्ता ॥ २१ ॥ आअई वोत्तव्वा ।
सत्तचआरगणाइगुरू गवरा जइ सा भणिआ भइरा ॥ ११९ ॥

मइरा राहाए—

मत्तकरिन्दकवोलमओज्झरपङ्कपसाहणसामलिआ
दाहिणमारुअमेलाविआ मअभेभ्भलिआ भसलावलिआ ।
केअइकेसरधूसलिआ पसरन्तमणोहरणीसणिआ
घोलइ कामिअणोवरि णज्जइ वम्महमुक्कसरासणिआ ॥ १२० ॥
छो उरलो उरन्तउरअन्तमज्झपरगा जहिं च चगणा ।
एरिसलक्खणेण रइआ हुवन्ति किर मइअस्स चरणा ॥ १२१ ॥

मइअं कुमारसोम्मस्स—

जं वडवाणलेण सभअं अणाइणिहणं णिवद्धवइरं
जं मअलंछणेण सुहसंगमेण सहिअं ठिअं च सुइरं ।
जं च विसं हरस्स अमअं सुराण रअणाअरेण विहिअं
तं अविणीअआण अकुलीणआण गरुआण देन्ति(अ) दिहिं ॥ १२२ ॥
आअई समत्ता ॥ २२ ॥ विअई वोत्तव्वा ॥
जइ उण मइअस्स छगणोवसाणगुरुओ तमस्स ललिअम् ॥ १२३ ॥

ललिअं मूलदेवस्स—

उअह इमं पउत्थवइआइ सन्दणवचन्दणद्धवले
करणमिअं विसण्णवअणं तहिंपि तरलामलच्छिजुअलम् ।

णहु अरुणप्पलम्मि कमलं कआवि कमलम्मि णीलजलअं
इअ परिचित्तिऊण विगअं कहिपि ण ठिअं चलालिवलअम् ॥ १२४ ॥

मत्ताकीला विज्जूसालाउवरि हुवइ जइ मणिगुणणिअरो ॥ १२५ ॥

मत्ताकीला तस्सेअ—

बद्धा दोला दिट्ठा चूआ महुअरपलविरपरहुअवहला
उद्दामा पुण्णाआमोआ मअमुइअमिल्लिअमहुलिहमुहला ।
फुल्ला रत्तासोआरामा तह विउलजल(ज)कमलसरा (?)
अत्ता पत्ता दुक्खं देन्तो विरहिजणमरणमिव महुसमओ ॥ १२६ ॥
विकई समत्ता ॥ २३ ॥ संकई वोत्तवा ॥

अट्ठचआरा मुहसअलगुरू सव्वलहू परमुहमुहगा अ ॥
सव्वलहू सव्वगुरुअरइअं लक्खणअं इणमिह तणुईए ॥ १२७ ॥

तणुई सुद्धसीलस्स—

जाअइ भङ्गो अह पडइ तहिं जत्थ जणो कुणइ ण परिसंगं
अख्खविओ ओविसणइ अ फुडं होज्ज वसे विहिअफलविहंगो ।
पेच्छह बाणो गुणघडिअत्तणू तिम्मगओ तहवि सहइ एअं
किं ण वंके उवलहइ णरो दुक्खसहो पअइ रिउसहाओ ॥ १२८ ॥
संकई समत्ता ॥ २४ ॥ अइकई वोत्तवा ॥

कौंचवआ सा रुववईए जइ उवरि हुवइ मणिगुणणिअरो ॥ १२९ ॥

कौंचवआ कुमारअत्तस्स—

कामसरोघाअल्लणसीलो गअवइलुवइ(?)जणमणहरणो
मन्थरसंचारं वहमाणो पिअमिल्लिअमिहुणजणदिहिजणणो ।
सीअलभावासासिअसन्तो भसलमुहलजणमणहरववणो ।
वाअइ पच्चूसम्मि वसन्ते मलअगिरिसुरहिपरिमलपवणो ॥ १३० ॥
अइकई समत्ता ॥ २५ ॥ उकई वोत्तवा ॥

अन्ताइत्तिगविरइअसविरलचउलहुअमुवह अववाहं तम् ॥ १३१ ॥

अववाहं सुद्धसहावस्स—

फुल्लेलावणपसरिअपरिमलपरिपिहिअसअलभुअणाभोओ
माअद्दुग्गअसुमणसकुवलअवणकमलपसरिअरआभोदो ।

अच्चन्तं पिअपरहुअमहुअरमहरअरइअरवसंगीओ
अव्वो कस्सव ण हरइ मणहर मलअगिरिसुरहिंसिहरुदो ॥ १३२ ॥

गेभा लासा पो मज्झज्जू परगुरुचतगणणिहणं भुअङ्गविअंभिअम् ॥ १३३ ॥
भुअङ्गविअंभिअं तस्सेअ—

कामुक्कोआआआ वाआ मलअगिरिसुरहिदुमदिण्णगंधमणोहरा
सन्दच्छाआ जाआ चूआ कलअलिअवहलकलकोइला लवणुम्भडा ।
पोम्मावासा हंसुगगीआ परिमलिअभसलपरिउंविआ कमलाअरा
एसो पत्तो माराअन्तो विरहिअणहिअअपरिसोसओ महुमासओ ॥ १३४ ॥

उकई समत्ता ॥ २६ ॥

एत्थ लहुअहिअलहुणो चत्तारि पिपीडिकाइ ; णव करह ।
होन्ति चउद्दह पणवे; मालाचित्ते तओ पञ्च ॥ १३५ ॥

सा पिपीडिआ तिलोअणस्स—

अव्वो गिम्हे उण्हा वाआ दिवसअरकिरणवणदवभरिआ जलन्ति दिसामुहा
वासारत्ते दूसंचारा णवजलअजणिअजलवहलपहा गिरन्तरकदमा ।
हेमन्ते ओसदीभावा घणतुहिणपवणपडिपहुअदुमा ण देन्ति पवेसअम् ।
णाहाहो कत्तो दे जत्ता अणुहवसुसुहअसइ सुरअसुहं रसाअणसणिहम् ॥ १३६ ॥
करहो सुद्धसीलस्स—

खामा सामा सासुक्कम्पा मुहकसणकटिणपरिमलिअघुसिणमसिण-

थणजुअलं भुआहि गिरंभिउं ।

कामाअत्ता पेमुम्मत्ता चलरमणकणिररवमुहलरसणिआविट्ठसणिआ इमा ॥

घोळावेन्ती केसामेलं वरसुरहिकुसुमरअभिमिलिअभसलमुहलिआ

विसंदुलपत्तिआ ।

तुज्झं मुद्धा मग्गा लग्गा समसलिलकलिअकरधरिअसिडिलरसणिआ

जणेण पहासिआ ॥ १३७ ॥

पणवो सुद्धसहावस्स—

सन्दो रुन्दो कुन्दच्छाओ सरअघणतुहिणकमलवणकुमुअहरइसिसिअतणू

ससङ्ककरुज्जलो ।

तारो पारावारप्पारो धवलिअजलथलगअणजणसअभुअणअलपरि-

सरप्पसाहिअदिम्महो ॥

लोआलोअच्छेअं गन्तुं दढकढिणविअडकलअलघडणपडिवडणवलइओ

णरेन्द पुहं जसो ।

उत्तुङ्गो सेअप्पाआरो डअ हरइ परमतिहुअणसिरिमगहरविरइअ-

रइमन्दिरस्सव सांठिओ ॥ १३८ ॥

मालावित्तं वेलाणाअस्स—

अव्वो दूरं दूसंचारो खरअरसिसिरअरिअगिरिगहणगरुअणइणिवह-

असुहगइवहो समीरणदारुणो ॥

एसो माहो मासो एण्हि पिअअम वस णिवसणकमलरइअ-

थिरमउअतडिमसुहसअणए सुरालअसण्हि ।

गङ्गावत्ताहिनतो रम्मं सिअविहअसमअगअमसिणमअरहर-

पुलिणसअलजलमणहरं मुणीणवि दुल्लहं ।

सोक्खागारं मोक्खद्वारं रम सुहअ हिमअररअहिमहरिणमअ-

घुसिणवणसुरदिपरिमलं णिअम्बअलं महम् ॥ १३९ ॥

छव्वीसक्खरअहिअं जं दीसइ किंपि रूवअं दीहम् ।

तं दण्डअंति भण्णइ पिपीडिआइं पमोत्तूण ॥ १४० ॥

छव्वीसपन्तिआओ पढमगुरुलहुअणिरन्तरा तत्थ ।

तद्दुगुणा सेसाओ परसरिसा पुव्विआ होई ॥ १४१ ॥

उत्तस्स दोण्णि भेआ अइउत्तस्स अ हुवन्ति चत्तारि ।

एअं दूणं णेअं जावच्छव्वीसपेरन्तम् ॥ १४२ ॥

सव्वीसा सत्तसआ तह सत्तारहसहस्ससंखाओ ।

वाआलीसं लक्खं तेरहकोडीउ सव्वाओ ॥ (१३४२१७२६) ॥ १४३ ॥

जअदेअपिङ्गला सक्कअम्मि दोच्चिअ जइं समिच्छन्ति ।

मंडव्व भरहकासवसेवल(यव)पमुहा ण इच्छन्ति ॥ १४४ ॥

जहा—श्रीहर्षो निपुणः कविरित्यादि ॥ १४४a ॥

जहा मऊरस्स—तेजोरूपापरैवेत्यादि ॥ १४४b ॥

लहुतअणजुअं परा लोअरा पा इमो दण्डओ; सत्तहिं चण्डबुद्धी परेकेक्कवद्धीअ

अणणणवव्वालजीमूअलीलाअरुहामसंखुत्तरा ॥ १४५ ॥

चण्डबुद्धी चन्दणस्स—

णवरिअ समरं पहाअम्मि पारंभिअं तूरपूरन्तभेरीदरीभासुरम् ।

मअरहरतरङ्गसंघाअसंकासधुव्वन्तसेअद्वअच्छत्तमाणाउलम् ।

अणवरअविमुक्कएक्केकमाहुत्तपज्जत्तणाराअचक्कादिणाणाउहम् ।

मअमुइअकरिन्दकुम्भत्थलारुढपाइकितिकखासिवेप्पन्तमोत्ताहलम् ॥ १४६ ॥

अण्णो सुद्धसीलस्स—

विहलिअघणरोहसोहन्तगामोहपच्चन्तसालीफलालुद्धकीलावलीकीलारे ।

मणहरणवणीलवोसदकन्दारुसंभन्तकुल्लंघधूलीरअन्धारिए ॥

कलमकणभमन्तकेआरअच्चन्तवुक्कारगोवीकलुगगीअमुच्छिज्जमाणुए ।

इअ पिअ सरअम्मि मा वच्च मोत्तूण मं पेच्छ अण्णेवि एए

विसण्णा पहे पंथिआ ॥ १४७ ॥

अण्णवो तस्सेअ—

पसरिअखरमारुअन्दोलिआसत्थज्जिज्जन्तपत्तोहसद्दालवाआरि-

पूरिज्जमाणंवरे ।

दिणअरकरतत्तत्तोल्लचिक्खिल्ललोलन्तकोलालिदाहुक्खअ-

वखोणिमुत्थाकसाइल्लए ॥

घणवणदवदाहडज्जन्तववधम (?) छल्लुब्भडोरल्लिसन्तत्थणासन्तमाअज्ज-

जूहाउले ।

पिअअम इअ एरिसे गिम्हआलंमि मा वच्च माणेसु थोरत्थ(णा-)

लिङ्गणुद्दामसोक्खाई मे ॥ १४८ ॥

बालो अङ्गारगणस्स—

विअसिअसिअसिन्दुवारहुसुद्दारमाअन्दमन्दुद्वलिज्जन्तगोन्दीर-

उद्दामवोमङ्गणे ।

फुलिअवउलचम्पआसोअपुण्णाअए भुत्तआमोअमत्तालिमाला-

कलुत्तालवाआलकोलाहले ॥

अहिणववरविद्दुमाअंबउब्भिण्णपालासफुल्लोह्वदिप्पन्तकन्तार-

वेपन्तवोलन्तपाराअए ।

पिअअम इअ एरिसे दारुणे दुण्णिणवारे वसन्ताम्मि वच्चन्ति मोत्तूण जे

कन्तिअ ताण कत्तो सुहम् ॥ १४९ ॥

जीमूओ तस्सेअ—

हरगलगरलालिणीलुप्पलुच्छाअगज्जन्तकुम्भीरधाराहर-

दन्तचामीअराआरविज्जुज्जले ।

मरगअमणिभित्तिसंलगसोवण्णपट्टपहापूरिए पुप्फचावस्स

गेहेव्व अच्चन्तगज्जन्तठकारवे ॥

विरइअवरपोम्मराइन्दणीलुद्धवेदूरखंभच्छिअं तोरणं वासअं सक्कचावं

णहे पेच्छिउं पन्थिओ ।

ण चलइ मणअंपि हा सामलच्छी पिआ तुङ्गथोरत्थणी दुकरं जीवए दट्टु-

मेअं णवं पाउसं मुच्छिओ ॥ १५० ॥

लीलाअरो तस्सेअ—

पिअअम विरहे तुमे तीअ इन्दीवरच्छीअ कन्तं सुहावेइ णो चंदणं णो

जलहा सुसंदावि चन्दस्स णो चन्दिआ ।

ण अ परिमलपूरपूरन्तकप्पूरपारीरओ णेअ बीणा ण वेणुज्झणी णेअ

कामस्स बाणोव्व जो पंचमो पंचमो ॥

ण लहइ पिअ णिद्धिअं पोम्मिणीपत्तादिज्जन्तसेज्जासु णो अंगणुज्जाणए

णेअ पालेअसीअंमि केलीहरब्बमन्तरे ।

इअ बहुगुणरम्मरामागणे काम कामेसु गन्तूण तं कन्तिअं जाव सूसन्ति

णो सामलंगाअ अंगाई सोअग्गिणा ॥ १५१ ॥

उद्दामो अंगवइस्स—

पहसमहिमडट्टुदेहो दढंकोणुलगो कुणन्तो तणेणत्थए सत्थरे थोरकन्तच्छिओ

णेइ अज्जाहरे जामिणि पंथिओ ।

णवारिअ अवरेण थित्ती णिरुद्धावलावेमहं दंडअं लंघमामाकरङ्कं इमं

फोडमामुद्धिअं ढोवाणिं पूरममंजरे ॥

असहिअवअणेण अण्णेण मा भाणिओ डट्टुडट्टाहिचावो णवप्पेण दिण्णो

तुहं एअमेक्ककमं पाम्हि ठिकाहिं जागुन्दलम्

णिसुणिअकलहं व तं तत्थ गामिल्लआ मिल्लिउं देन्ति तालोदअं केवि

वोक्काईआअन्ति वग्गन्ति अण्णे अ अप्फोडमाणा तहिं ॥ १५२ ॥

संखोवि तस्सेअ—

पणमिसुरासिध्दगंधव्वजक्खोहचूडामणिप्फंसदिप्पन्तपाआरविन्दं

कुलीणक्खसंक्कन्ततेल्लोक्ककीरन्तवेदन्तथुत्तीसअम् ॥

परिमिलिअविणिल्लालणेत्तग्गणिन्तग्गिडज्जन्तकामङ्गणिम्मु-

कल्लक्कदेवासुरहामहाराइअक्कीरमाणप्पलावाउलम् ।

सुबहलरुहिरोहखिप्पन्तदुप्पेच्छलं वन्तदुग्घोहचम्मंबरावद्धभोइन्दकंवीविमुचन्त-

फुटन्तजालावलीभीसणम् ।

इअ पणमह गोरिरुद्धद्वेहं जरावज्जिअं जण्हवीतोअसित्तुत्तमंगं

जडाजुडसोहन्तचन्दद्वखण्डं सअंभुं सिवं संकरम् ॥ १५३ ॥

इअ चंडवुट्टिपमुहा संखन्ता दण्डआ इमे भट्ट ।

जे उण उत्तरपमुहा ते मालादण्डआ सेसा ॥ १५४ ॥

विसमलहुणो पआरा परा लोअरा जत्थ इच्छाइ बज्झन्ति सो

दण्डओ चन्दवालोत्ति णामेण णिहिट्ठओ ॥ १५५ ॥

सो चन्दवालो मऊरदेवस्स—

कहिमि कलहोअमाणिक्कासिप्पीविहत्थेण संकुट्ठिओ वेट्ठविन्देण अलिन्दओ ।

कहिमि सिरिखण्डकप्पूरकत्थूरिआकुंठुमुप्पणपंकेण एकक्कमोआहओ ॥

कहिमि अहिसेअसिगंबुधाराणिआअप्पवाहेण दूराहि एककसो सिञ्चिओ ।

कहिमि णडकन्तपप्फारवन्देहिं सोहमगसूराइणामावलीसेसमुच्चारिआ ॥१५६॥

अवरो रज्जउत्तस्स—

कहिमि चलिअं चलन्तेण अण्णेउरं थोरमुत्तावलीहारकेऊरकंचीकलावेहिं

गुप्पंतअम् ।

बहलसिरिखण्डकप्पूरकत्थूरिआकुंठुमुप्पीलकालाअसुम्मसिचिक्खिलपन्थेसु

खुपन्तअम् ॥

धवलधअतोरणच्छत्तचिण्हप्पडाआवलीमण्डलभन्तवाल्लिन्दणीलंधआरे

विसूरन्तअम् ।

मुहलचलणेउरुग्धाअशंकारवाहित्तहंसोहमग्गाणुलगन्तछकन्त-

हेलागईणिगमम् ॥ १५७ ॥

जइ लहुअपआरापरा पुव्वला जं जहिच्छाइ बज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ

सीहविक्रन्तणामो ॥ १५८ ॥

सीहविक्रन्तो सुद्धसहावस्स—

उअ सरअणिसाए रमन्तो समं बालगोवीहिं राहाइ कण्हो करे

पुंजिअं धूलिपुंजम् ।

ललिअउअहत्थेण पच्छाइऊण च्छिवत्ताइं णीओ सअं जाव

संकेअकेलोपएसम् ॥

विहलिअकरोहोपलो एइ जाता पुरो पुण्णिमाअन्दगेन्दी-

णवेन्दीवरच्छी किसिणी ।

बिहसिअ सविलासं पुणो तीअ सो गाढमाल्लिगिओ साअरं चुम्बिओ

णिअभरं रामिओ अ ॥ १५९ ॥

लहुगुअछआरा दो परा पुव्वला पा जहिच्छाइ वज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ

मेहमालाहिहाणो ॥ १६० ॥

मेहमाला तस्सेअ—

ण रमइ दलसन्दे सुन्दरे सिन्दुवारे ण रुन्दारविन्दे ण माअन्दमन्दारएसुं ।
ण लिअइ वउळ्ळगे णो अ आणंगोरे पिअंगुद्धगोच्छे ण पुण्णाअणाओहएसुं ॥
ण पिअइ मअरन्दं कामभल्लिव्व णो फुल्लिअं मल्लिअं णो असांअं ससोआउलंगो ।
कह णडइ पिउच्छाच्छप्पओ पेच्छ कच्छे भरन्तो पिअं मालइं

सा वसन्तम्मि कत्तो ॥ १६१ ॥

सअललहुअछआराहि पा पुव्वला जत्थ इच्छाइ वज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ

चण्डवेआहिहाणो ॥ १६२ ॥

चण्डवेओ अङ्गारगणस्स—

सलिलवहणमिसिं गआ जाव संकेअए सत्थरं पेच्छिऊणं
जुआणं च धट्ठं च कामाइआए ॥
कइअवघडिणं कडीए कुडं पाडिऊणाळिअं हासमीसं रुअन्ती
अ भग्गा कडीउछआसे ॥
पुणरवि अहिअरोसाव्व रेसाअ मोरेइ अत्तत्ति तो उत्तसन्ती गओ देव्व
जेणम्मिह सन्ताविआहम् ॥
इअ बहुविहपआरं सवन्ती विडं पंसुली लक्खिऊणं सहीए हला
एहि वच्चाम गेहंत्ति णीआ ॥ १६३ ॥

सव्वपा लोअरा जत्थ इच्छाइ वज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ

मत्तमाअङ्गलीअरो ॥ १६४ ॥

मत्तमाअङ्गलीअरो तस्सेअ—

रत्तओसित्तिपेरन्तलुद्धन्धगिद्धुक्खअन्तच्छवीहच्छणच्चन्तभूओहए ।
मुक्कभल्लूअवोक्कारवुत्तालवेआलघोरदहासब्भमन्तग्गिजालाउले ॥
मुक्ककंकालकावालिउठ्ठन्तहाहारवुब्भन्तविग्घोहरूसन्तजोईजले ।
एरिसे भीमरूए मसाणे सआ णच्चमाणो सहं देउ तुम्हाण देओ हरो ॥ १६५ ॥
लहूगुरू णिरन्तरा जहिच्छिआ हुवन्ति जत्थ दण्डओ इमो

अणङ्गसेहरो ॥ १६६ ॥

अणङ्गसेहरो सुद्धसीलस्स—

विसालभाललोलघोलमाणकज्जलुज्जलालआलिमालिआउलोवसोहिए ।
विउद्धमुद्धदुद्धणिद्धपम्हलामलब्भमन्ततारदीहरच्छिरत्तकन्तए ॥

विसद्वसन्दकुन्दगोच्छसच्छकोमलुल्लसन्तदित्तिदन्तवान्तकेसरालए ।

इमंमि एरिसे मुहारविन्दए पिण्ड जो पिआहरं महुव्व सो

सउण्णओ ॥ १६७ ॥

सव्वता लहुत्तरा जहिच्छिआ जहिं हुवन्ति सा इमा

असोअपुप्फमंजरिति ॥ १६८ ॥

असोअपुप्फमजरी तस्सेअ—

तिक्खस्वग्गधारभिण्णदुण्णिवारवारणेन्दकुम्भपीठपत्थरोहदुग्गमाए ।

दीहवाणभिज्जमाणजोहदेहसुंखंडपज्झरन्तसोणिएक्कपाणिआए ॥

दोणिभाअजाअकाअणिन्तरत्तसित्तलत्तपुन्डरीअमुत्तकेससेवलाए ।

एरिसोअ सत्तुवाहिणीणईअ मज्झ णाहओ किवाणवोअओ

समुत्तरेइ ॥ १६९ ॥

जइ सव्वचआरगणा अवसाणगुरू तमिणं भाणिअं कुसुमत्थरणं ॥ १७० ॥

कुसुमत्थरणं सुद्धसहावस्स—

सुपहुत्तसरोअअहंससमूहसमुद्धुअपक्खपरिविखअएहिं सआ ।

दिण्णाहफुरन्तकरग्गसहस्सविफंसविबोद्धिअअन्तरएहिं फुडम् ॥

भमरेहिं जहिंछिअअं महुपाणविमोहिअएहिं चलेहिं चिरंचिअओ ।

कमलेहिं कओ रजओहसुसोहिअएहिं मअच्छि विट्ठसिअओ

सरओ ॥ १७१ ॥

सव्वचआरगणाइगुरू णिहणे दुगुरू जइ तं पमणान्ति

भुअङ्गविलासं ॥ १७२ ॥

भुअङ्गविलासो तस्सेअ—

वासहरम्मि वरे कसणाअरुडट्टिअधूवसुअंधमणोहरए कमणीए ।

पीणघणुण्णअचक्कलथोरथणीअ सअं परिपेळ्ळिअवच्छअलो रमणीए ॥

कोमलबाहुलआदढवेढिअओ पडिवट्टसुणेत्तविअंसिअए सअणीए ।

पावइ णिद्धिअअं हिअअच्छिअअं सहि जोत्तिचअ पुण्णजुओ स णरो

रअणीए ॥ १७३ ॥

मुहज्जू पआरा णिबज्जान्ति जत्तो जहिच्छाइ सो दण्डओ सीहकीला-

हिहाणो ॥ १७४ ॥

सीहकीलो जोहअस्स—

अणन्तो महन्तो अकन्तो सअन्तो अणाई अमाई अराई असाई ।
 अजोई असोई अमोई अमोई अकोहो अमोहो अरोहो अखोहो ॥
 समुत्तुंगदेहो परिच्छिण्णणेहो हआसेसबाहो तिलोईअ णाहो तए
 मोक्खमग्गे ।
 हओसव्वसंगो सुविण्णाअणेओ तुमं देवदेओ महं देउ बोहं
 समाहिं च णिच्चम् ॥ १७५ ॥

सव्वत्तपा लावसाणा णिवज्झन्ति जत्तो परिल्लं पमोत्तूण सो दण्डओ
 कामबाणोति ॥ १७६ ॥

कामबाणो वेआलस्स—

‘ णिच्चं णमो वीअराआ ’ एवमाइति ॥ १७७ ॥

पंचंससारहूए बहुलत्थे लक्खलक्खणविसुद्धे ।
 एत्थ सअंभुच्छन्दे उत्ताइविही परिसमत्ता ॥ १७८ ॥

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 इह वेअवईअ वरद्धे । दोधअअं जइ बीअचउत्थे ॥ १ ॥

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कमलं डसिअं तरलेहिं । पेच्छिअ सच्छसरे भसलेहिं ॥
 भरिअं पडिएण पिआए । घोलिरअंव मुहं अलएहिं ॥ २ ॥

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उवचित्तअं अजरामरस्स—

वडपिकफलोठ्ठि मअच्छिए । उज्जुअले जुअले उअ कन्ते ॥
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इमा पलत्ता विवरीअपुव्वा । अक्खाणिअच्चेअ विवज्जएणम् ॥ १३ ॥
विवरीआक्खाणिआ ललिअसहावस्स—

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सहन्ति कन्दप्पपहुप्पवेसे । वज्जन्तसंखव्व सिअत्थणा से ॥ १४ ॥

सअलसअलउत्तरन्तला । चउतगणा गुरुअं च अन्तए ॥
तणुलहुमुहगा दुचा जुए । तमवरपत्तमिणं तओ समम् ॥ १५ ॥
अवरपत्तं सुद्धसहावस्स—

करिवर भर मा सरन्तए । कमलमुणालवणाईं सीसए ॥
करिणिकरणिवेसिआइए । भणसु सआ सुहिओव्व को जणो ॥ १६ ॥

णवर अवरवत्तपाअअन्ते । अहिअअरेकगुरुम्मि फुल्लिअग्गा ॥ १७ ॥
फुल्लिअग्गा कालिआसस्स—

अवणअविडओ णईपलासो । पवणवसा धुणिएक्कपण्हत्थो ॥
दवदहणविवण्णजीविआणं । सलिलमिवेस दएइ पाअवाणम् ॥ १८ ॥

तत्थाइतइज्जुल परेणं । जुत्ते भद्वराडिआ पलत्ता ॥ १९ ॥

भद्रवराडिआ अङ्गारगणस्स—

संज्ञापणओ णिमीलिअच्छं । देहद्धं फुरिआहरोठसोढम् ॥
गोरीअ वहेइ जो हसन्तो । सो रुद्धे उवणेउ मङ्गलं वो ॥ २० ॥

पंचता लहुत्तरा गुरुद्वं च । समेसु उज्जुआहिआ मई जवाई ॥ २१ ॥

जवमई कलाणुराअस्स—

मत्तहत्थिपाअपीढपेल्लिआइं । कलङ्कपङ्कभीअजीअमेळ्ळिआइं ॥
सामिअप्पसाअजाअणीरिआइं । भढाण जीविआइं किं गआइं ताइं ॥ २२ ॥

मईजवाईआ कमुक्कमेण जत्थ । छप्पआवली कईहिं सा पलत्ता ॥ २३ ॥

छप्पआवली दुग्गसत्तिस्स—

मणिप्पहा-गद्दोह-केसरल्लएहिं । लक्खणंकिअंगुलीदल्लएहिं ॥
धरित्तिदेव्वअव्व मच्चमाणिअव्व । मुद्धिए विहासि पाअपंकएहिं ॥ २४ ॥

पढमतइअए गीई बीअचउत्थंमि खंधओ जीए ।

सअललहुअणिहणगुरु सिहत्ति सा उक्कमेण भणिआ खञ्जा ॥ २५ ॥

सिहा सुद्धसहावस्स—

कमलवणसरसपसरिअरअपरिमलमिलिअभसलउलमुहलो ।
मुहलसिअविहअबिल्लिअकुवलअदलकसणसअलसरवरणिअरो ॥
णिअरपरिगलिअतरवरसकुसुमपहखलणविमणपहिअजणो ।
पहिअजणगमणगअमण भण पिअअम कमिह ण तवइ णवर सरओ ॥ २६ ॥

अहवा अणस्स—

खणपसरिअहरगलगरलकसणघणघडणजणिअरणरणअम् ।
णिअदइअविहगुणसुमरणपरिगलिअविरहिजणगुरुसुहपसरम् ॥
णवरिअसिअमणहरकुडअमअणघणसुरीहकुसुमवणगहणम् ।
सवइ घणसमअमविरअमिह तुह पहु वइरि सअलपरिअणसुअणो ॥ २७ ॥

खंजा अङ्गारगणस्स—

गरुअणवसअलजलहरपउरबहुतलिवडणपडिअमहिहरसिरो ।
विउलगअणतलपसरिअसुरधणुपरिअमिररुइरदिअणिवहो ॥
सुहिअसिहिउलकअकलअलविरहिजणजणिअअइदुसहररणरओ ।
इअ पिअअम गम(ण)गअमण भण कमिह ण खलइ पढमघणसमओ ॥ २८ ॥

अहवा अणस्स—

हरइ णवसरसविअलिअमणहरवरकुसुमसुरिअणिअरवहो ।
कलकणिरअमिरअमरउलबहलथिरमहुररवणिअरमुहलो ॥

मअसुइअतरुणपरहुअघणकलअलभरिअसअलदिअणहविवरो ।
विरहिअणहिअअमविरअपसरिअमहुसमअसिसिरसुहपवणो ॥ २९ ॥

पंचंससारद्वए बहुलथे लक्खलक्खणविसुद्धे ।
एत्थ सअंभुच्छन्दे अद्दसमं परिसमत्तमिणम् ॥ ३० ॥

III

रसचा परोरपरवंक्क । पगुणपरमज्झगा गुरू ॥
पुव्वतइअगदुद्धा सगुरू । जइ णन्दिणी णिहणअम्मि उग्गआ ॥ १ ॥
उग्गआ अम्भुअस्स—

भुवणाहिपं विमलतेअ— । मतणुअमणुत्तमं विहुम् ॥
मुक्कसअलपसुपासमलं । परमं पुराणपुरिसं णमं सिवं ॥ २ ॥

तइअक्खरं सह परेण । तइअचरणम्मि जुज्जए ॥
तं भणन्ति किर सोरहअं । समसुग्गआइ जइ सेसलक्खणम् ॥ ३ ॥
सोरहअं इसहलस्स—

छणचंदबिम्बसरिसेण । समहुरसज्झगान्धिणा ॥
कोमलेण कमलेणव तं । अहिअं विहासि वअणेण मुद्धिए ॥ ४ ॥

जइ उग्गआइ पसुहंमि । तइअचरणस्स छल्लहू ॥
सअलनिउणजणसंगहिअं । इणमो सुणेह लालिअस्स लक्खणम् ॥ ५ ॥
ललिअं कलाणुराअस्स—

अरविन्दसन्दमअरन्द— । भमिरभमरन्धआरिअम् ॥
विमलबहलसल्लिङ्गविअम् । कमलाअरं विसइ वारणाहिओ ॥ ६ ॥

गच्छोचा परमज्झपुव्वदोन्तगुरुज्जू । पजुअं उरसुहलं वसुज्जुणो गम् ।
दसलहु गुरु दुलगा । पच्चुविअमिह सअलकईहिं णिबद्धम् ॥ ७ ॥
पच्चुविअं उव्वडस्स—

वासारत्तसमाप्पिओ णिरण्णअरूओ । पडओव्व सअलमेहपुज्जसोहो ॥
कुणइ असइहिअए । बहलरअणितमणिअरो गुरुतोसम् ॥ ८ ॥

एअं चेअ भणन्ति वा उअत्थिअपुव्वं । दुगुणे तइअकमंमि बहूमाणम् ॥ ९ ॥
बहुमाणं रविवप्पस्स—

सुद्धं सोम्मसहावअं समप्पिअचित्तं । णिहुअं ललहाविलासिणीविअट्टम् ।
अमअरसगरुअअं णिहअमहलविरं । घरघरिणिसरअमवलव्वअइ कत्तो ॥ १० ॥

चा दोन्तोउरगा गुरू तइज्जअपाए । अवरं पचुविअलक्खणं असेसम् ।

सा सुद्धविराडिआ तहिं । जइ पढमगणविरइ आविसहं तम् ॥ ११ ॥

सुद्धविराडिआ सुद्धसीलस्स—

हत्थारोविअरुन्दचन्दबिम्बकवोले । गुणसंभ(र)णगलन्तवाहधारे ॥

थोरत्थणि मज्झखामिए । परिमिसासि सससि भण कस्स कएणम् ॥ १२ ॥

आविसहं ललिअसहावस्स—

दुक्खे दुक्खिअओ सुहम्मि वट्ठिअसोक्खो । हरिणो जह

समवट्ठिअम्मि चन्दे ॥

चन्दस्स तहा ण तेत्तिअं । परिहरइ णिअअपइअं किमणुज्जु ॥ १३ ॥

चत्तारि अंसआ पाअे दोदोअक्खरसंजुआ ।

लहुअं णाइवण्णादो तं सिलोअस्स लक्खणम् ॥ १४ ॥

सिलोओ छइल्लस्स—

चंदबिम्बं व कन्तिळं पुन्डरीअव्वं कोमलम् ॥

सव्वलोअं सुहावेअं सुहं ते केण णिम्मिअम् ॥ १५ ॥

पच्चमं लं तिगं वत्तं सुवत्तं सत्तमे अ ले ।

समपाए पुणो पच्छा पच्छावत्तं विवज्जए ॥ १६ ॥

वत्तं विअट्ठस्स—

सव्वविग्गहणेआरा पत्ता कण्डज्जुणा कण्णम् ।

धरिआ तेण ते देवि एअं तं माणअं जाअम् ॥ १७ ॥

सुवत्तं सुहडराअस्स—

एअं कामस्स अङ्गअं कअं मसी पिणाइणा ।

देन्ति अच्छीसु कामिणी तेण कज्जेण कज्जलम् ॥ १८ ॥

पच्छा सुद्धसहावस्स—

अवणेअं ससो जाव कलङ्कं किर झिज्जए ।

ताव तं तारिसंचेअ को णासेइ पुराकअम् ॥ १९ ॥

पच्छावत्तं चन्दराअस्स—

पत्तो तुज्झ सुहच्छविं चन्दो चन्दाअणं काउम् ॥

जाअं णवरलंछणं अहिअं पुण्णमासीए ॥ २० ॥

वत्तं तमेव चवला सागरा जइ लत्तअम् ।

वत्तअं होइ चवलापच्छाए सुमणोहरम् ॥ २१ ॥

चवलापच्छा छड्छाण—

चन्दणं चन्दकिरणा कप्पूरं मलआणिला ।
ता सुहावेन्ति हिअअं जा पासे पिअमाणसम् ॥ २२ ॥

सेअवमएण विउला चउभेआ, पिङ्गलस्स अट्ठविहा ।
तिस्सा परिवाडीए को सक्कइ लक्खणं काउम् ॥ २३ ॥

अट्ठक्खराइं पढमे वारह बीअंमि सोरहं तइए ।
वीस चउत्थे पाए पअचउरुद्धं इमं भणिअम् ॥ २४ ॥

पअचउरुद्धं ललहसहावस्स—

संपुण्णचन्दवअणा । विणिह्णीलुप्पललोललोअणा ॥
जस्स थोरथणिआ धणिआ छन्दाणुवत्तिणी ।
अच्छउ जत्थ तत्थ सहलंचिअ तस्स णवरि जीविअम् ॥ २५ ॥

सव्वाइ उज्जुआइं दोदो वंकाइं जत्थ पमुहम्मि ।
एसो पच्छावीड्ढ; आवीड्ढ जस्स णिहणम्मि ॥ २६ ॥

पच्छावीड्ढ ललअस्स—

एण्ह तइ मह कअ-। माअट्ठिअतरुणिमणपसर ॥
अङ्गे विरइअरइसुहमसरिसगुण ।
दुक्खं पिअ दरसिअबहुविहललिअमणिअरव ॥ २७ ॥

आवीड्ढ तस्सेअ—

सहि रइसुहसारो । सअलभुअणकअपरिओसो ॥
दरसिअबहुविहतण्हिअअराओ ।
सहइ मह पअडविहगुणसअसुइअ कन्तो ॥ २८ ॥

पढमो बीएण समं पण्हइ मंजरी एसा ।
तइएण समं लवली परेण सह अमअधारेत्ति ॥ २९ ॥

मंजरी अङ्गारगणस्स—

फलिणिकुसुमवररअगोरे । घणथणहरवट्ठे ॥
उअह् घडिअपिअमणहवअमगो ।
लहइ कणअकलसठविअणवकिसलअसोहम् ॥ ३० ॥

लवली सुद्धसहावस्स—

धवलकमलपरिमललुद्धा । रुणरुणिअजणिअजणमणपरिओसा ॥
कुसुमरअविलित्ता । मण कमिह ण हरइ सरअपसुइअमसलाली ॥ ३१ ॥

अमअधारा तस्सेअ—

मणमणिअकणअरसणाणं । सललिअथरहरिअथणअजुअलाणम् ॥

मुणिमवि हरइ उअ तह कह कहवि तरुणीणं । विसमरअविलासो ॥ ३२ ॥

पंचंससारहूए बहुलत्थे लक्खलक्खणविसुद्धे ।

एत्थ सअमुच्छन्दे पाउअसारो परिसमत्तो ॥ ३२ ॥

MATERIALS FOR AN ISMAILI BIBLIOGRAPHY :

1920-1934

By ASAF A. A. FYZEE

Last year while writing a paper of a popular character on "The Progress of Ismailitic Studies during the last fifteen Years,"¹ I conceived the idea of preparing a bibliography of all works on Ismailism which have appeared during the last 15 years. The need for this is twofold. In the first place, no classified bibliography of Ismailism has appeared so far. For Massignon's "Esquisse,"² as he himself realizes more than any one else, was only tentative. It could not, in the then state of our knowledge of this very interesting sect, be anything else. In the next, since 1920 the materials at our disposal for the study of Ismailism in all its phases have increased greatly. Although not a hundredth part of the true glory of Ismaili sciences, *ḥaqā'iq* (esoteric philosophy), *ta'wīl* (allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*), *'aqā'id*, *fiqh*, and the other forms of writing such as *risālas*, *sīras*, *majālis*, have been studied, still the vista that has in the last few years been opened by Ismaili scholars presents a fascinating spectacle.

The time has therefore come when stock may be taken of what has been accomplished and what remains to be done. For this surely nothing is of greater utility than a proper bibliography. The preparation of such a complete and classified bibliography, having regard to the conditions in Bombay, is almost an impossibility. We possess no complete collection of works published in the East relating to Ismailism, much less all the European work on the subject.

This therefore is an attempt to pave the way for a more or less exhaustive bibliography which we hope to see before the passing of our generation. Every attempt to make the list as complete and exhaustive as possible has been made ; and in this connection it is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of my friend, W. Ivanow, who has been good enough to help me in particular with

¹ *The Ismaili* (Bombay), Birthday No., 31 January 1935, p. 8-10.

² See No. 6 below.

the Russian titles. Nevertheless, it is necessary clearly to say in what directions the bibliography remains incomplete, or at any rate, subject to doubt. First, the work of all esoteric sects is difficult of access. The difficulties are so peculiar and sometimes so amusing that it may of itself be the subject of a very entertaining paper. Second, oriental research in the various European languages has increased to such an extent, that one may well despair of collecting even the titles of all the works published. The late Professor Browne used to complain bitterly that scholarly work in the different European languages had reached such proportions, that it was desirable to go back to Latin for embodying the results of research. When that was the opinion of a versatile linguist working in Cambridge, what would be the position of an ordinary Indian working in Bombay? The languages that were once supposed to be necessary, as well as enough, were English, French and German. But now Russian, Italian and Spanish have also acquired great importance. Many scholars have enriched their own tongues by scholarly researches; probably good work has been done in Dutch, Polish and Hungarian, and how is one to get in touch with it? Third and last, much valuable information is entombed in the Indian Blue Books, census reports, ethnological surveys, special monographs, provincial gazetteers, manuals of local customs, and the like, familiarity with which is much to be desired, but difficult of achievement.

It is to be hoped that readers of these pages, who are interested in the subject, will be good enough to communicate to me the titles of works and articles which have remained unnoticed.

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SUPPLEMENTARY.

(a) Undated articles and books.

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 Vol. I *Asās* (Goldziher); Assassins; Bāṭiniya (Carra de Vaux); Bohoras (Arnold); Druzes (Carra de Vaux).
 Vol. II. Fatimids (Graefe); Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (T. J. Boer); Ismā'iliya (Huart); Karmatians (Massignon); Khoja (Yusuf Ali).
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 Vol. IV. Sab'iya (Strothmann); Shī'a (Strothmann); Yām and Yaman (Grohmann).
 The *Supplement* which is in course of publication will also contain many valuable articles, for example, Ismā'iliya (W. Ivanow).

(b) Older articles and books.

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SHORT NOTE

THE ĀBHĪRA-TRAIKŪṬAKA DYNASTY

By S. V. VISHWANATHA

The Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas were among the earliest dynasties of Mediaeval Dekhan. It has generally been supposed that these were two distinct dynasties, though, not more than one king is known so far, and could be taken to belong to the Ābhīra. (Dubreuil, *Dekhan*). The Ābhīras have been looked upon as a separate dynasty who flourished in the middle of the 3rd Century A.D., while the Traikūṭakas are assigned to a later age. The region over which this dynasty held sway was identical with or formed part of the territory of the Western Kshatrapas. The dominion of the Traikūṭakas is also admitted to have extended over the same tract of territory on the West Coast.

The Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas really belonged to the same family, the dynasty ordinarily known as Traikūṭaka being only the descendants of the Ābhīras. The word Ābhīra denotes only the hill-race or tribe to which the family belonged ; and the Ābhīras are mentioned among the tribes that were subject to Samudragupta's rule. The title "Traikūṭaka" of the dynasty is only "regional" and indicates that their territory lay round Trikūṭa on the Western Coastal region. It included probably a good part of the North Bombay Presidency, Gujarat and Kathiawar. This dynasty played perhaps only a small role in the history of India ; but its importance lies chiefly in the fact that it had its rise from a low racial origin, and though some of its early members are known only as having served as commanders under the Western Kshatrapas, they could establish a ruling dynasty on the decline of the power of their suzerain. This incident was of such an outstanding significance that it became a land-mark in the history of the Dekhan and was the origin of a new era beginning with A.D. 248. The Kaṭachuris or Chedis adopted the same era in their inscriptions.

The Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas are stated to be the Western neighbours of the Vākāṭakas and the Kadambas; and Trikūṭa is mentioned in the Ajanta inscription as one of the countries included in the conquests of the Vākāṭaka King Harisena (C. 500-530 A.D.). Probably the fortune of the dynasty fell after this conquest, and no inscriptions of these kings are met with beyond the year 500 A.D. The lower limit of their rule seems to lie somewhere about this date.

Even while this country was in the firm grip of the Western Kshatrapas, we meet with an Ābhīra commander (*Senāpati*) Rudrabhūti by name, the son of a commander Bāhaka, mentioned as a donor in one of the Western Kshatrapa epigraphs, dated Śaka 103=181 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, X. 157). Obviously, these Ābhīras served as commanders under the Kshatrapas, and wielded enormous influence under their kings. Two more names of Ābhīra chiefs are met with in an inscription at Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 88f), of the ninth year of Ābhīra Īśvarasena, son of Māḍharīputra Śivadatta Ābhīra. The former, who in all probability is identical with a king Īśvaradatta whose coins are met with in the same region on the West Coast, (Rapson, *Coins*, p. CXXXVI; sects, 42, 132 and 134) appears to be the first Ābhīra chief to rise to the position of an independent ruler. He could have got this glory only during the period of a temporary decline in the fortune of the Western Kshatrapa kingdom and the short period of general confusion that followed the death of Jīvadāman. As Rapson says, the first symptoms of a decline of the Western Kshatrapa power actually began to appear about 245 or 246 A.D. in the reign of Vijayasena (Rapson, p. 137).

Obviously, in the midst of this confusion, the Ābhīra carved out a portion of the Western Kshatrapa territory for himself and rose from the position of vassalage to be the founder of a new dynasty of kings. This incident should have taken place *after* 245 or 246 A.D., *and not before*, as Rapson seems to hold, while fixing the period of rule of Īśvaradatta of his coins between 236 and 239 A.D. (p. CXXXVI). At the same time, we are also told that the Western Kshatrapas were able to retrieve their lost fortune even in the reign of Dāmajadaśrī, the son of Vijayasena. Īśvarasena could thus have been king only for a very short period.

It is therefore highly probable that he assumed the title of king on September 5, 248 A.D., which date has been taken (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 129) to mark the Traikūṭaka or Chedi era. Īśvarasena or Īśvaradatta was probably the founder of the era and of the Traikūṭaka dynasty of kings.

Nothing more is heard for a time of the Ābhīra or of the new family that was founded by Īśvaradatta. As stated above, the sway over his territories passed once more to the Western Kshatrapas. There is only one piece of direct evidence to indicate that Īśvaradatta and his successors should have been driven eastward into the Chedi country and that is the era that Īśvaradatta had founded. The Ābhīra fugitives should have found themselves in the Chedi country round about Tripura (Tewar) and Kalinjara, Ratanpur and Raipur. Here, they forgot their Ābhīra origin and claimed affinity with the Hehayas who had already held sway in the new region of their occupation. The original Ābhīra or Traikūṭaka era came thence to be known as the Chedi era.

When the Western Kshatrapa empire began to decline, especially after the time of Rudrasena III (C. 360 A.D.), there was a chance for the family in exile to return once more to the Ābhīra country, the original region over which they had once ruled in the West Coast. Besides, they should have been pressed back by the Vākātakas who were rising to power. This accounts for the appearance of a line of kings ruling in the territory round Trikūṭa in the 5th Century A.D., known ordinarily as the Traikūṭakas. The original Ābhīras had, however, become brahmanical in their ways after their emigration, under the influence of the Hehayas, and if the term Ābhīra is not met with at all, hereafter, as denoting a line of rulers, it is for this reason.

Coins unearthed from this "Traikūṭaka" territory on the West Coast mention three names of kings belonging to the Traikūṭaka dynasty. These are Indradatta, his son Dahrasena or Dahragana and his son Vyāghrasena (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIII, 1-7). An inscription of the second of these engraved on the Pardi Plates (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, p. 346) is dated in the year 207 of the era of the Traikūṭakas, and it brings therefore the year A.D. 455 within the reign of this king. The Surat Plates of Vyāghrasena (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, 219) give this king similarly the date 489 A.D.

The full genealogy of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka dynasty will be as follows :—

1ST LINE.

Bāhaka Ābhīra

Rudrabhūti

Māḍhariputra Śivadatta

Māḍhariputra Īśvarasena

150-250 A.D.

As the year 181 A.D. falls in the life-time of Rudrabhūti, and 248 in that of Īśvarasena, it is possible that there was only one generation between the two. If so, Śivadatta may be the son of Rudrabhūti.

LATER LINE.

Indra Datta

Dahrasena

Vyāghrasena

C.400-500 A.D.

Numismatic evidence is to the effect that Śaka 310=A.D. 388 is the last known date of the Western Kshatrapas (Rapson).

The era beginning with 248 A.D. is met with in use among the Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas, the Chedis and Kālachuris. Recently Mr. K. P. Jayasval expressed the view that this "Chedi era was founded by the Vākātakas." I hope to deal with this subject at greater length later. If this be accepted, the following important questions will be left unanswered. Why should the era not have been known as the Vākāṭaka era, if it was founded by this dynasty. The Vākātakas were certainly the most important dynasty of the Dekhan in the period. Was the country occupied or ruled over by the Vākātakas the same as the Chedi (Kāṭachuri) or Traikūṭaka country; and how to account for the use of this era in the inscriptions of the latter and in the West Coast? These questions will only be solved if it is taken that the era was founded on the West Coast by the Ābhīra chief Īśvaradatta in commemoration of the establishment of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka dynasty, on the decline of the Western Kshatrapa rule on the West Coast. It may be that Vindhyaśakti "the banner of Vākāṭaka race" founded this line of kings in the same year. It travelled with the Ābhīras

into the interior and was used by the line of kings that succeeded them in the region of their settlement or was related to them in any way. Thus, the kings of the Kaṭachuri dynasty, Krishnarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja are seen to use this era in dating their inscriptions.

Now to give a summary of our main conclusion, the dynasty of kings known as the Traikūṭakas is only a later line of the Ābhīra family.

Īśvarasena or Īśvaradatta was the first Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka king and the founder of the era beginning with A.D. 248. The Traikūṭakas were Ābhīras by race, and were so called because of the region of their rule, which was more or less the region of sway of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas, and Western Kshatrapas.

In the first period, A.D. 150-250 the Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas were only commanders and vassals of the Western Kshatrapas. It was only the kings in the second period, A.D. 400-500 that came strictly to be styled as the Traikūṭaka line of kings. The Kaṭachuris or Chedis were closely related to the Ābhīras, if they were not, especially the later kings, directly their descendants in the Chedi country.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THREE NEW WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF ISMAILISM

Prince P. H. MAMOUR. *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs*.
London (Luzac & Co.), 1934. 231 pp.

This book, though appearing in English, "sounds" very Arabic, closely recalling the diction, ways of reasoning, and the general style of Arabic theological and historical literature. It is apparently the most interesting of the three new works on the history of Ismailism which are reviewed here. It takes up the most difficult question, whether the Fatimid caliphs really descended from Imam Ismâ'il, son of Imam Ja'far, and thus from 'Alî and the Prophet through his daughter Fatima. The author diligently collects much material concerning the versions of their genealogy given by different historians, genealogists, controversialists, etc. On one or two occasions he vaguely refers to "Ismaili literature," but the impression is that he had no genuine Ismaili books at his disposal. Though he perused a large number of works, there are still many, especially Persian, which could be added to the list.

He classifies all the different variants of the genealogy of the Fatimids into several types, refuting those which he regards as erroneous. The version which he accepts is that which was given in the official refutation by the Abbasid caliphs, *i.e.*, that in which the Fatimids are supposed to descend from Maymûn al-Qaddâh, and his son 'Abdu'l-lâh. The author, rejecting the obviously fictitious genealogy of this Maymûn, given in the official refutation, suggests that the name was in reality a fictitious one, adopted by Imam Muḥammad b. Ismâ'il, who had to live in strict disguise, hiding himself from the numerous agents of his deadly enemies, the Abbasid caliphs. Prince Mamour spares no effort to convince the reader of his theory, which seems, on the whole, highly probable.

As is well known, there is no question concerning the genealogy of the first seven Imams, from 'Alī to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. But after him there is a dark period for over hundred years, when, with al-Mahdī, the things become clear again. For this period of *saṭr*, or concealment, the early Ismaili works either preserve complete silence, or vaguely refer to *al-A'immatu'l-mastūrīn*, i.e., the "Concealed Imams," without giving any details as to who they were, and how many. Their names and sequence are given only in the works which were composed several centuries later. It is really strange that when the Fatimids had already established themselves as powerful kings, and there was no longer any necessity to conceal themselves, they apparently never published any official version of their genealogy in order to stop the accusations of their numerous enemies which, indeed, were bound to create a certain misapprehension in the ranks of their followers. Still stranger is the fact that, as far as it is possible to see, there apparently never was any officially recognized version of the genealogy during this dark period, obligatory to the whole community. At present there are several versions, recognized by the different subsets of the Ismailis. The author defends the one which is accepted by the Musta'lians (who in India are known as Bohoras), who preserve the tradition of the later Fatimids. On the other hand, the Druzes, the Nizaris of Persia and India, each have a slightly different version. In the absence of any documents it is impossible to discover which of these is the right one. The great zeal of the author, which may be worthy of a devoted Ismaili, cannot replace facts, or documents which can prove them. Therefore the reader remains unconvinced, and the question is thus left to be solved by further researches.

DR. ḤASAN IBRAHĪM ḤASAN. *al-Fāṭimiyyūn fī Miṣr wa A'māluhum as-Siyāsiyya wa'd-Dīniyya bi-wajh khāṣṣ*. Cairo (Government Publication), 1932, pp. 22+367. With several good photographs, and with maps on separate tables.

The work, in Arabic (though originally written in English), is the author's doctorate thesis,—a circumstance which explains many of its peculiarities. As usual in such ambitious theses of

Eastern students, three quarters of it consist of introductory and general matters which are merely extracts from, or summaries of the well-known, classical or other works of Western scholars, without which, indeed, no progress in research can be done, but which suffer much in such abbreviations and paraphrases by beginners. The contribution of the author, in the way of unearthing fresh information, forms a very small proportion in the volume, and those matters which directly refer to the subject mentioned in the title of the book are those dealt with in the chapters III, V, VI, VII and VIII. They (V and VI) refer to the questions of administrative system of the Fatimids, introduced by them in Egypt, while VII and VIII are devoted to what can be described as the state of "material culture" at the period, and various ceremonies at the Court. The author's promise to reveal something about their religious organisation remains unfulfilled. The information about the places in which Ismailism was preached in Cairo in reality is nothing but a descriptive list of the architectural monuments of the dynasty. The nature of the doctrine preached in these mosques, palaces, etc., remains obscure. It is a pity that the author did not make himself acquainted with the *Wajhi dîn* and the *Zâdu'l-musâfirîn* of Nâşiri Khusraw, which were already accessible at the time when he was working over his book. The first of these books gives a fairly correct idea of the religious system, and the second—of the philosophy of the Fatimids.

It seems that the Government of Egypt were right in publishing this work in Arabic. For Egyptians themselves, and for Arabic-reading public generally, it will be a very valuable novelty, and much of the material which presents nothing new to the Western student will be read for the first time by those who cannot read European languages.

SHAYKH 'ABDU'L-LÂH B. AL-MURTADÂ AL-KHAWABÎ. *al-Falaku'd-Dawwâr fî Shamâ'il-A'immati'l-Athâr*. Aleppo (Print. in the Maronite Press), 1352/1933, pp. 22+275.

The work is remarkable in that it is written, and even published, by a Syrian Ismaili. Every one who knows the great mystery in

which the Syrian Ismailis always kept everything that refers to their religion can appreciate the extent of the changes which are now going on, even in the most isolated communities of the East.

The work is divided into two unequal parts. The first occupies only 56 pages, and deals with vague and commonplace discussions on the subject of the part played by Divine providence in the world, on Divine Law, Imamât, and generally on the necessity of religion and piety. There is very little in all this that can even in the least give an idea about the beliefs of the Syrian Ismailis at present.

The second part is entirely devoted to the history of Ismailism, especially in Syria. The author derives the terms *Ismaili* and *Ismailism* not from Imam Ismâ'il b. Ja'far, as this should be, but from Ismâ'il, the son of Abraham. Thus his history has a wide range,—from Abraham to 1932. No wonder that it can give only very few details on the 212 octavo pages in fairly large type which the author has at his disposal. This disappointment is followed by another: the reader soon notices that the author apparently had neither written nor oral genuine Ismaili sources of information at his disposal, and entirely depends on a few well-known compendia of Muhammadan history, such as those by Ibn al-Athîr, Abû'l-Fidâ, etc. Not only European editions of various important Arabic texts, all books in Western languages, in Persian, etc., but even many Arabic works published in the East remain entirely unknown to him. Thus the reader finds very little that is new in this work. It is really doubtful whether a book like this can even be useful to those Arabs who do not read Western languages. It is remarkable that whenever the author refers to purely Ismaili matters, he seems to be rather helpless. For instance, the famous compendium of the Ismaili *fiqh*, the *Da'îmu'l-Islâm*, written in the middle of the fourth c. A.H. by Qâdî Nu'mân, is attributed (pp. 31, 32, etc.), to Imam Muḥammad Bâqir (first c. A.H.). Such a great saint and famous personage as Salmân Fârsî here (p. 50) becomes as-Sayyid Sulaymân al-Fârsî. The name Nizâr is often written Nidhâr, etc. Chronology is just as accurate.

DR. BRUNO MARKOWSKI, *Die materielle Kultur des Kabulgebietes*, (=The Material Culture of the Kabul District). Asia Major, Leipzig 1932. Pp. XXXV, 154.

Afghanistan has played an important rôle in the history, ethnology, archaeology, and development of Asia. She has become more and more known to us in the last decades through the works of scholars and keen observers. However, much work remains to be done for a scholarly study of the different aspects of Afghanistan.

We welcome, therefore, the book of Dr. B. Markowski in which he deals with some branches of descriptive ethnology. The author, formerly teacher in the Amanie High School in Kabul, collected his material during a three years' stay there by studying the country and mixing with all classes of people. Thus he obtained an intimate knowledge of their ways of living. The results of his studies are embodied in this thorough, well informed and scholarly book.

The author introduces us in the first part of the book to the fundamental physical conditions on the basis of which the "material culture" is laid; so he discusses in separate chapters the Geography, the Climate¹ and Products, the People,² Languages³ and Religion giving an instructive outline of them. Then he describes fully the material culture dealing with the following aspects: principles of building, style, material, the house and its establishment (furniture, light, fire, kitchen, kitchen-utensils, etc.), clothing, feeding, servants, trade and traffic, industries, handicrafts, etc. Good photos and drawings illustrate the description and give a vivid idea of the things described.

We find, however, that the material culture of the Kabul District has been influenced in more respects than one by India. This is not surprising because of the geographical situation (Kabul

¹ An interesting table of Kabul Temperature and Rainfall is given in J. D. Ahmad and M. A. Aziz, *Afghanistan*, Kabul, 1934.

² For racial elements the author could have referred also to: H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, Lahore, 1880; L. A. Starr, *Frontier Folk of the Afghan Border*, London, 1921; P. L. Pennel, *Among the wild tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, London, 1911; Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-kush*, London, 1890.

³ Instead of Pushto "Ku-ke" p. 55, read "sü-ke."

river and other tributaries of the Indus ; passes of Khyber, Paiwar Kotal, Gomal, etc.) and the fact that India has always been in close contact with Afghanistan.

O. Spies.

ṚGVEDA SAMHITĀ, Parts I and II, August and September 1933 ; published By SATIS CANDRA SEAL, M.A., B.L., Hon. Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 58, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta. Price, inland, Rs. 1-8 + 1-8 ; foreign, 2s. 6d. + 2s. 6d.

The scheme of publishing the text of the Ṛgveda along with translation in three languages (English, Hindi and Bengali), the Bhāṣya of Sāyanācārya and full critical notes which is put forward by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, is indeed a gigantic one. After Griffith, nobody has published a reliable translation of the Ṛgvedic hymns with adequate explanatory notes in English. The need of such a translation is very keenly felt for a long time, and particularly so when Griffith's translation has by now become antiquated in several places in view of the scholarly exposition of the Ṛgvedic hymns made by the two great German scholars, Oldenberg and Geldner.

The personnel of the Board of Editors, whose services the Institute has secured, is such as ought to command general respect and it would not be too much to expect that full justice will be done to the several difficult hymns in the Ṛgveda Samhitā. The translation is good and the notes, as far as can be judged from the first two fascicules, are generally up-to-date and full. A few words, however, seem to have been left without any critical notes ; e.g., the word 'sūpāyano' in I. 9. The word 'Satyam' again in I. 6, does not appear to be correctly interpreted. When used predicatively in such context, it has the sense of 'everlasting, permanent, incontestable, not to be undone by any one else &c.' Cf. Grassmann, Woörterbuch, p. 1451, under Satya 4. According to Geldner, Glossar, p. 187, the word in our passage means 'earnestly or honestly intended &c.' Nor is the translation of this word according to Sāyana, as is claimed by the editor, for Sāyana's comment on this word is 'Etacca satyam, tatra na visamvādoti.' A more systematic method of abbreviations too requires to be

followed. Thus *e.g.*, Dr. Pradhan's paper could have been more briefly alluded to on pp. 5 and 6 of the English translation in fasc. I.

The bold attempt of the Institute very richly deserves active support and sympathy from all who feel interested in the oldest literature of India and also of the world.

H. D. V.

VEDIC VARIANTS by M. BLOOMFIELD and F. EDGERTON, Vol. I. The Verb, 1930; Vol. II.—Phonetics, 1932; Vol. III.—Noun and Pronoun Inflection, 1934. Published by the Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

These three volumes are the outcome of patient and intelligent labour extending over several years of the two renowned Sanskritists of America, M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton, particularly the latter. The aim of these volumes is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated Mantras of the Vedic tradition, numbering about 10,000. The work owes its origin, as we gather from the preface, to Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.

The wonderful material that is gathered here, is most interesting and instructive from the point of view of general Linguistics. It illustrates very vividly how different causes, both subjective and objective, contributed in bringing about these variants in the Vedic texts. Thus though the considerations of metre are responsible for a large number of such variants, yet an author's tendency or fondness for a particular form or expression, his defective memory playing mischief while reproducing an older saying or expression, or even his expressional convenience have often been the cause of different readings of one and the same Vedic Mantra in different texts. One more important result emerging out of these researches into the Vedic variants is the unmistakable evidence of the influence of the popular Prakritic phonology upon the language of the Vedic poets, of course, due to their unconscious handling of their material. But more interesting still is the conscious attempt, which is very obvious, on the part of some of these poets to remove such influence and their general eagerness to puritanise the language,

which alone can account for the existence of a certain class of the Vedic variants, where there obviously is a hyper-Sanskritic correction of a really non-corrupt text, which however phonetically resembles a corrupt one.

But apart from this linguistic interest of the Vedic variants, they also sometimes serve as an important commentary on the earlier forms, showing in what sense they were taken by the poets, who introduced these later variants for the earlier forms. Students of Vedic literature will most heartily welcome this very rich mass of material, skilfully and systematically arranged, so as to be useful to them at every step.

H. D. V.

THE MAURYAN POLITY. By MR. V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., Madras University, Historical Ser. No. 8, 1932. Pp. 394. Rs. 6.

This is one of the numerous works that owe their conception to the publication of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The learned author after exhaustively dealing with the several arguments of his predecessors comes to the conclusion that the Kauṭīliya is a work of the 4th century B.C. He gives a comparative table (pp. 47-48) of technical and other words that are common to the Inscriptions of Aśoka and the Kauṭīliya. There are chapters on the extent and character of the Mauryan Empire, on the central administration, on Provincial and Local Governments and on the Mauryan State in relation to Dharma. Two Appendices deal with the authenticity of the Kauṭīliya and a comparison of the fragments of Megasthenes with the Kauṭīliya are added.

The book under review is a painstaking work and is a very useful compilation. The printing and general get-up are attractive. But we are constrained to say that the learned author has been very often carried away by his reverence for great names. Following the late M. M. Ganapati Śāstri he holds that Bhāsa belongs to the 6th century B.C. (p. 19), that Kauṭilya quotes from Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyauḡandharāyaṇa* and that the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya is anterior to the Kauṭīliya (p. 22). Very few scholars would in these days accept any of these conclusions. The learned author throughout employs the form Kauṭāliya (and not Kauṭīliya) and

has devoted several pages (pp. 311-316) to the discussion of the question of the proper form of the name. But the discussion is neither thorough nor convincing. He brushes aside the ancient literary evidence of the *Mudrārākṣasa* which derives Kauṭilya from 'Kuṭīla' as ingenious or imaginary and slavishly follows the late Ganapati Sāstri. But that learned *savant* had himself printed the name as Kauṭilya in the first few pages of his edition and only later on it dawned upon him to change the name to Kauṭalya. The *Pravara-maṅjarī* (pp. 32 and 161) as printed (Mysore) favours the form Kauṭilya also. There is a very important piece of evidence to show that Kauṭilya was a gotra. Vide the third lost plate of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, where the gotra of a donee is distinctly chiselled as Kauṭilya and not Kauṭalya (E.I. Vol. 19, p. 245 and p. 248). The passage quoted in a footnote from the *Vāyupurāṇa* by the learned author himself (p. 4) contains the word 'Kauṭilya' twice. The gotra Kuṭāla is not mentioned in the *Pravara* sections of the *Āpastamba*, *Āśvalāyana* and other *śrauta sūtras* and it is very likely that it was coined by the lexicographers and later writers on gotra. The learned author appears to think (p. 14) that the *purāṇa* mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* like the *Chāndogya* is to be connected more or less with the *purāṇa* works now extant. This is quite unwarranted. The great *Śaṅkarācārya* while commenting on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* II. 4.10 is very careful to point out that the word *purāṇa* therein refers to *Brāhmaṇa* passages only (and not to the well-known *purāṇas*).

Though there are many places where the conclusions reached by the author are far from being acceptable, on the whole the work presents a patient and thoughtful investigation of the available material on the history of the Mauryas and deserves to be consulted by students of the history of Ancient India.

P. V. K.

THE AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS. By Prof. R. D. BANERJI, Benares Hindu University, 1933. Pp. 81. Rs. 10+250+41 plates.

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume. It embodies the six lectures that the late Prof. Banerji delivered at the Hindu University in 1924. The gifted author did not live long enough

to see the work published, and the task of giving it the final touches and bringing it out fell on Prof. A. S. Altekar, on whom the mantle of Prof. Banerji has fallen as Manindra Chandra Nandy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The work deals with one of the most glorious periods of ancient Indian History and supplies a long-felt want. Though Dr. Fleet's monumental work on the Gupta Inscriptions has been in the hands of scholars for several decades and though a great deal has been said about the Guptas in several works and periodicals, the work under review presents in a connected form the several aspects of the Gupta period. In six chapters the learned Professor deals with the chronology of the Imperial Guptas, their system of administration and peerage, the religious and literary revival under them, their architecture and plastic art and coinage under them. The plates are well-printed and add materially to the usefulness of the work. Prof. Banerji is not content merely to give the results arrived at by other scholars. He offers discriminating criticism of his predecessors' views and makes his own contribution also to the exposition of doubtful and difficult points. We commend this book to all interested in ancient Indian History.

P. V. K.

BHĀTTACINTAMANI OF VAÑCHĒŚVARAYAJVAN. Edited by M. M. VENKATA SUBRAHMANYA ŚASTRI. Madras Law Journal Press. Pp. 118+8+482+32. 1934. Rs. 6.

The book contains the text of Khaṇḍadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā of which the present work is a commentary. Bhāṭṭadīpikā is an important work on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā, though it belongs to the latter half of the 17th century. The volume under review brings it down to the third *pāda* of the third *adhyāya*. It has been already published in the Bibliotheca India Series and elsewhere, but as the commentary is a new one scholars will welcome this edition. The Sanskrit introduction gives a tolerably full account of the family of the commentator and of his literary activities. The commentary is a lucid and learned one. The editor has made a praiseworthy attempt to trace to their sources the numerous quotations occurring in the commentary. The type is excellent. One, however, regrets to find that the proof-correction has not

been what one would have in such a learned work and thirty-two pages of *corrigenda* do not appear to exhaust the numerous lapses that are broadcast (e.g. *vide* p. 138 'gauranūbandyaḥ.')

P. V. K.

THE UNĀDISŪTRAS IN VARIOUS RECENSIONS. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Madras University Sanskrit Series (No. 7.) 1933.

Part I—The Uṇādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Śvetevanavāsin. Pp. 15+236+46. Rs. 3.

Part II—The Uṇādisūtras with the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇa. Pp. 12+149+63. Rs. 2-8.

Mr. T. R. Chintamani and the Madras University deserve the thanks of all Sanskrit scholars, particularly those interested in Grammar and Etymology, for this scholarly edition of the Uṇādisūtras with two commentaries. The project of bringing out an edition of the Uṇādisūtras with several commentaries in seven volumes is a very ambitious one. The learned editor has laid Sanskrit scholars under great obligations by providing excellent indices of quotations and words. The printing and general get-up are excellent. The work is a creditable performance and we hope that the remaining volumes will be brought out at an early date.

P. V. K.

VIBHRAMAVIVEKA OF MAṆḌANA MIŚRA. Edited by M. M. Prof. S. KUPPUSWĀMI ŚASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. and Prof. T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. 1932. Pp. 25. As. 12.

The text is based on a single manuscript available to the editors in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, which shows lacunae and corrupt readings in many places. The editors, therefore, have suggested many additions and emendations by comparing this text with a corresponding portion of Ācārya Maṇḍana's other works, such as Brahmasiddhi and Vidhiviveka. The additions and emendations are enclosed within rectangular brackets, so that a critical reader can judge of their propriety or otherwise.

This little book contains 162 stanzas and is a valuable addition to the Vedantic literature already published, firstly because it is written by no less an authority than Ācārya Maṇḍana, a great Mīmāṃsaka and Advaitin, and secondly because it deals with various theories of error (Bhrama), a very important and knotty problem of Indian Epistemology. In this book the author discusses the four chief theories of Bhrama, usually known as the Khyātivādas, *i.e.*, Ātmakhyāti, Asatkhyāti, Akhyāti and Anyathākhyāti and tries to maintain the Bhātta theory of Viparītakhyāti, which is akin to the Nyāya theory of Anyathākhyāti.

In the scholarly introduction to this book, Prof. S. Kuppaswāmi Śāstri subjects all these theories to a searching and critical analysis and makes an ingenious suggestion for an appropriate graph, showing the Epistemological inter-relation of these theories, with Asatkhyāti as the centre and all other theories forming a circle around. Very few critics would like to differ from the learned editor when he appropriately concludes 'Yes and no are but phases of the same reality;.....Error is the ante-chamber of Truth.'

We eagerly await the publication of two more works of the same author, namely, Brahmasiddhi and Sphotasiddhi by the Sanskrit Department of the Oriental Institute of the Madras University.

V. A. G.

A STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS. By SURENDRA KISHORE CHAKRABORTTY, M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Anandmohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal. 1931.

Here is another attempt at diving into the unfathomable depth of Ancient Indian Numismatics. Foreign scholars like Princeps, Cunningham, Smith and Rapson have all toiled before and left for our guidance the results of their research work. Since then several hoards have come to light, and fresh attempts in the line have chances of greater success. Dr. Bhandarkar has published his lectures in a book form, and Dr. Chakrabortty has come forward to plod in this almost unexplored field. Each one of these has tried to cover a vast field and a long period of Indian history, and it is but natural that even in spite of great endeavours

nothing substantial could be achieved. India extends over a wide area and the period under research is a pretty long one. If, therefore, the work is split up and enthusiasts were to carry on research individually in their own provinces, and if the ancient period were also divided into 3 or 4 convenient subdivisions, the chances of substantial research and success would be brighter.

I do not believe all the same in damping the spirit of such enthusiastic workers by stamping their work as an "amateurish attempt," but would welcome them and others to co-operate with the Numismatic Society of India and contribute their quota of research work on the lines indicated above.

Dr. Chakraborty ought to have tried to make his book more popular by omitting chapters on weights, denominations and metrology of coins, subjects which cannot be discussed at sufficient length in a brochure of this type. A few illustrations especially of novel types of Tribal coins that are described in the last chapter ought to have been attempted in as much as Cunningham's book on *Ancient Indian Coins* and other catalogues referred to by him are becoming more and more scarce. It is wise of him to have given at the end a general Index which is specially useful to beginners.

G. V. A.

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC. By M. M. Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A., I.E.S. Published by P. Varadachary & Co., Madras, 1932, pp. 364.

The book is based on Annambhaṭṭa's Tarkasangraha and is primarily meant for the benefit of modern University students, especially students of Philosophy. The division into three parts, i.e., the introduction, the text, and the exposition, is, no doubt, eminently well suited for the class of students mentioned above, but the text should have been printed along with the Dīpikā, so that it would have been of still greater use to the students of Sanskrit also. One special feature of this book which makes it at once indispensable to the students is the historical introduction in Part I, dealing with allied topics of Indian philosophical Sūtras and the comparative exposition of each topic in Part III. It is needless here to point out the importance and the necessity of a

comparative study of all branches of Indian logic and philosophy at the present time, when a wider outlook is all the more needed on the part of Indian students.

In the introduction, the author endeavours to prove that the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and the Nyāya Sūtras were redacted between the middle of the 4th century and the 2nd century B.C. on the strength of an extract from the Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, pp. 27-28 (Trivandrum edition) and its striking parallel in Vatsyāyana's Bhāṣya on the Nyāya Sūtras I. 1.1. But the line of argument adopted is not very convincing in view of the fact that just as the Brahma-Sūtras mentioned at Bhagavadgītā, XIII. 4 do not necessarily refer to the Brahma-Sūtras of Bādarāyana, but to other Sūtras composed by other authors, which later on became incorporated into the Bādarāyana Sūtras, so also the expression Ānvikṣiki in the Arthaśāstra does not necessarily presuppose the existence of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and the Nyāya Sūtras, but rather presuppose their underlying tenets not yet evolved into Sūtras. This point of view, however, does not in any way lend support to Jacobi's arguments for the late date of the Philosophical Sūtras, as they are obviously far less convincing than those advanced by Prof. Sastri.

V. A. G.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY AND HIS PERSIAN ADVENTURE. Edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. Pp. xxxviii, 293. The Broadway Travellers, Routledge, London. 1933. 12s. 6d.

Sir Anthony Sherley was a remarkable adventurer. Born in 1565, he became an ambassador in the service of the "Great Sophi," Shāh 'Abbās, and after a stormy career and changing many masters, died in 1628. "He was"—according to the learned editor—"an inveterate and unscrupulous intriguer, a sententious hypocrite devoid of all real sentiment, being incapable of single-minded devotion to any person or cause. He had all the natural instincts of a buccaneer, and his cupidity was only equalled by his extravagance." On the other hand, he had great physical courage and a reckless love of adventure. Combined with keen powers of observation and a retentive memory was his talent as a linguist. His extraordinary career may be explained by "an almost hypnotic power in personal intercourse which he possessed."

There is a scholarly Bibliographical Introduction, a Bibliography and a memoir (97 pages) by the Editor. Then follow the four narratives which constitute a record of his career: I. The Anonymous *True Report*; II. William Parry's *New and large Discourse*; III. Abel Pinçon's *Relation*; and IV. George Manwaring's *True Discourse*. The appendix of about 20 pages consists of extracts from Sir Anthony's own writings and letters.

The Broadway Travellers have set up a high standard of scholarship. The volume before us fully maintains that standard, and on account of the entertaining matter it contains it is also to be recommended to the general reader.

AL-ANDALUS—Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid of Granada, Vol. I, Fasciculi 1 and 2. Madrid, 1933.

Spain is nobly repaying to Islam the legacy she owes to that religion. This is a learned oriental quarterly published at Madrid dealing with Islamic matters and got-up in the most excellent fashion. The name *al-Andalus* has itself a fascination for all students of history; it conjures up the memory of the fusion of two remarkable peoples and the rise of a great culture, quite distinct from several others and yet a part of Islamic civilization. One of the editors is Miguel Asin Palacios. That by itself ensures a high standard. On the cover page, in consonance with the artistic spirit of *Andalusia*, is an arabesque design which is both distinctive and beautiful. The articles seem to be very learned and interesting; we only regret that being in Spanish very few of us in India can derive any benefit from them. A feature is the beautiful printing and get-up; the Arabic type is cut on the Maghribian models and is both artistic and legible. We wish the Review all success.

INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY: Perception. By JADUNATH SINHA, Professor of Philosophy, Meerut College. Kegan Paul, 15s. net.

Professor Sinha has undertaken the task of expounding the whole range of Hindu Psychology. This task has never before been essayed in so thorough-going a manner. The work is to be

completed in two volumes, and the present volume deals only with perception. But in Indian philosophical terminology the term which is translated "perception" has a far wider denotation than the same term in Western thought, and comparisons with Western thought have to be made with great caution. Professor Sinha has sought to give a systematic presentation of the treatment of the main problems of "perception" in all the schools of Hindu philosophy, and he is to be congratulated on his work. It will be of great value to all students of Hindu philosophy, and many who are not prepared to undertake the study of the book as a whole will find in it an invaluable work of reference.

J. McK.

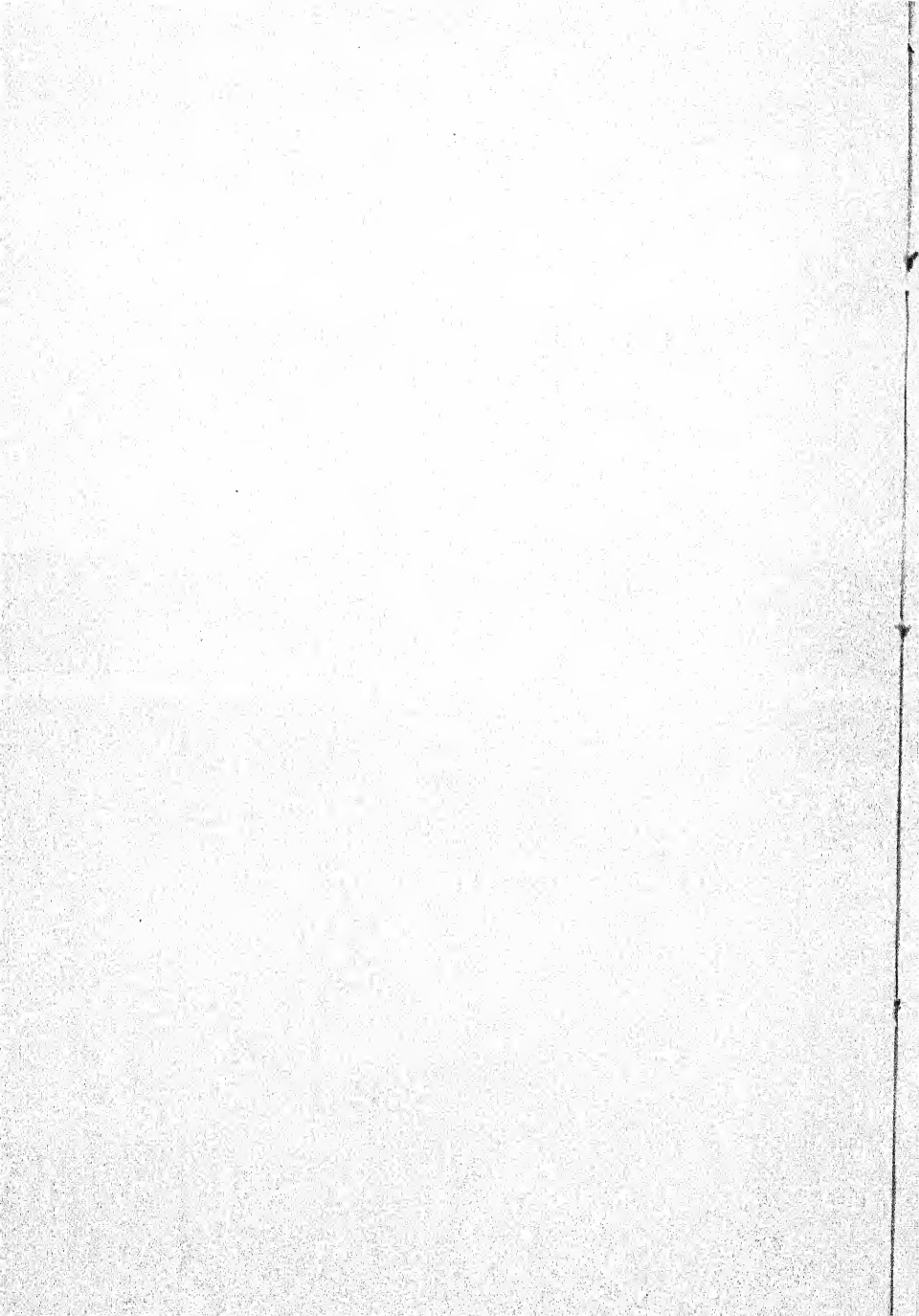
The Islamic Research Association, Bombay, has published the following works in their series: (1) *Diwan of Khaki Khorasani*, Persian text, ed. W. Ivanow, 1933. Rs. 1-10. (2) *Two Early Ismaili Treatises (Haft Babi Baba Sayyid-na and Mathubu'l-Mu'minin)* by Nasiru'd-din Tusi. Persian text, ed. W. Ivanow, 1933. Rs. 0-14. (3) *True Meaning of Religion (Risala dar Haqiqati Din)* by Shihabu'd-din Shah. Persian text, edited and translated by W. Ivanow. 1933. Rs. 1-4. (4) *Kalami Pir (Haft Babi Sayyid Nasir)*. Persian text, edited and translated by W. Ivanow, 1935. Rs. 6-8.

Works in preparation are: *Arabon ki Jahaz-rani* (Arab Navigation) by Syed Sulaiman Nadwi; *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldun, Eng. Translation, by Dr. U. M. Daudpota; *al-Jahiz and his Times* by Dr. M. B. Rehman; *A Creed of the Shi'ites*, by Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Particulars of the Association may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.), 43, Chaupati Road, Bombay 7, INDIA.

Bombay, April, 1935.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Mahābhārata: Analysis and Index. By EDWARD P. RICE. (Oxford University Press). 1934. Pp. 15+112. Rs. 5.
- Journal of Vedic Studies. Vol. I, No. 1, January 1934. Edited by Prof. RAGHU VIRA, M.A., Ph.D. (Published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Lahore). Annual Subscription Rs. 12 or 20/-
- Padyāvali of Rūpa Gosvāmin. (Dacca University Oriental Series No. 3). 1934. Critically edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. Pp. 144+296. Rs. 7-8.
- Brāhūi Language. Part II—Etymological Vocabulary. By Sir DENYS BRAY. (Government of India). 1934. Pp. 315. Rs. 7-14 or 13/6.
- Maukharis. By E. A. PIRES, M.A. (B. G. Paul & Co.) 1934. Pp. 18+220.
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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	<i>a</i>	औ	<i>au</i>	ठ	<i>ṭh</i>	भ	<i>bh</i>
आ	<i>ā</i>	क	<i>k</i>	ड	<i>ḍ</i>	म	<i>m</i>
इ	<i>i</i>	ख	<i>kh</i>	ढ	<i>ḍh</i>	य	<i>y</i>
ई	<i>ī</i>	ग	<i>g</i>	ण	<i>ṇ</i>	र	<i>r</i>
उ	<i>u</i>	घ	<i>gh</i>	त	<i>t</i>	ल	<i>l</i>
ऊ	<i>ū</i>	ङ	<i>ṅ</i>	थ	<i>th</i>	व	<i>v</i>
ऋ	<i>r̥</i>	च	<i>c</i>	द	<i>d</i>	श	<i>ś</i>
ॠ	<i>r̄</i>	छ	<i>ch</i>	ध	<i>dh</i>	ष	<i>ṣ</i>
ऌ	<i>l̥</i>	ज	<i>j</i>	न	<i>n</i>	स	<i>s</i>
ए	<i>e</i>	झ	<i>jh</i>	प	<i>p</i>	ह	<i>h</i>
ऐ	<i>ai</i>	ञ	<i>ñ</i>	फ	<i>ph</i>	ळ	<i>ḷ</i>
ओ	<i>o</i>	ट	<i>ṭ</i>	ब	<i>b</i>		

— (Anusvāra)	<i>m̐</i>	×	(Jihvāmūliya)	<i>h̐</i>
• (Anunāsika)	<i>m̐̄</i>	≡	(Upadhmāniya)	<i>h̐̄</i>
: (Visarga)	<i>ḥ</i>	⊃	(Avagraha)	,

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC.

ا a	ز z	ق q	ـ i or
ب b	س s	ك k	ـُ u or o
ت t	ش <u>sh</u>	ل l	اَ ā
ث <u>th</u>	ص ṣ	م m	ـِ ī
ج j	ض ḍ	ن n	ـُ ū, o
ح ḥ	ط ṭ	و w	ـِ ai
خ <u>kh</u>	ظ ṣ	ه h	ـِ au
د d	ع ʿ	ي y	silent t . . . ḥ
ذ <u>dh</u>	غ <u>gh</u>	ء ʾ	
ر r	ف f	ـ a	

PERSIAN.

پ p	چ <u>ch</u>	ژ <u>zh</u>	گ g
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JOURNAL
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EDITED BY

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KALIVARJYA* (ACTIONS FORBIDDEN IN THE KALI AGE)

(P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., Bombay.)

Among ancient peoples the Golden Age has been in the past. India is no exception. Even in the Ṛgveda we come across a verse betraying the feeling that as time passes there will be progressively greater deterioration, both moral and physical. In the famous dialogue of Yama and Yamī, Yama is represented as saying 'those later ages are yet to come when sisters would do what is not sister-like' (Ṛgveda X.10.10). But the Ṛgveda does not give any indication that the theory of four *yugas* had been evolved at that time. The word *yuga* occurs at least thirty-eight times in the Ṛgveda, but the meaning is rather doubtful. In a few places *yuga* means yoke (Ṛg. X.60.8 and X.101.3 and 4). In many places it appears to refer to a very brief period, e.g., in 'Vaiśvānaraḥ Kuśikebhir—yuge yuge' (Ṛg. III.26.3), where Sāyaṇa renders 'yuge yuge' by 'pratidinam'. Generally *yuga* appears to mean in the Ṛgveda 'generation,' e.g., 'praminatī manuṣyā yugāni' (lessening the life of human generations, Ṛg. I.92.11 and I.124.2). *Vide* also Ṛg. I.103.4, II.2.2, III.33.8, V.52.4. In other places 'yuga' must be given the sense of a 'long period of time', e.g., 'tvām dūtam-agne amṛtaṁ yuge yuge dadhire' (Ṛg. VI.15.8 'they made you, O Agni, an immortal messenger,

* This paper which was accepted by the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference is now published with the permission of the Conference.

carrying oblations in each period'), 'devānām pūrve yuge asataḥ sadajāyata' (Rg. X.72.2 'in the primeval period of the gods developed matter came out from the undeveloped one'); *vide* also Rg. VI.8.5, X.94.12, X.97.1. In Rg. I.158.6 'dīrghatamā māmāteyo jujurvān daśame yuge' ('Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamatā, had grown old in the tenth *yuga*), *yuga* probably means a period of four years. Whatever be the meaning attached to the word *yuga*, the Rgveda does not contain the names of the four well-known ages. The word *Kṛta* seems to have been used in the sense of the best throw of dice or of the seeds of the *vibhītaka* tree in gambling in Rg. X.34.6 'the seeds of *vibhītaka* bestowing the *Kṛta* throws on the rival gambler that (increase) the gambler's desire (appetite) for gambling'. Kali is the name of the author of Rg. VIII.66 and in verse 15 of the hymn the composer says 'O descendants of Kali do not be afraid' (Kalayo mā bibhītana). In Rg. X.39.8 the Aśvins are said to have rejuvenated Kali who had become old. But there is no reference in the Rgveda to Kali as a throw in gambling or to Kali as the name of an age. The words *kṛta*, *tretā*, *dvāpara* and *āskanda* (for Kali) occur in the Taittiriya-Saṁhitā (4.3.3). In the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (30.18) also these very words occur.¹ In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S.B.E. vol. 44, p. 416) also the same words are used 'to the *kṛta* one who takes advantage of mistakes in the game; to the *tretā* one who plays on a regular plan; to the *Dvāpara* one who plans to over-reach (his fellow-player); to the *Āskanda* a post of the gaming room' (Eggeling's tr.). In the Tai. Brāhmaṇa² we read 'to the *Kṛta* the master of the gaming hall, to the *Tretā* one who takes advantage of mistakes, to the *Dvāpara* one who sits outside, to the *Kali* (one who is like) a post of the gaming house (*i.e.*, never leaves it).' Here *Kali* is substituted for the word *Āskanda*. It is clear that in all these places *kṛta* and the other three words are throws in gambling. *Kṛta* is the most lucky throw and *Kali* is the most unlucky. The Tai. Brāhmaṇa

¹ अक्षराजाय कितवं कृतायादिनवदर्शं त्रेताय कल्पिनं द्वापरायाधिकल्पिनमास्कन्दाय सभास्थानुम् । वाज. सं. 30.18.

² कृताय सभाविनं त्रेताया आदिनवदर्शं द्वापराय बहिःसदं कलये सभास्थानुम् । तै. ब्रा. III. 4.16. The interpretations of आदिनवदर्शं given by महीधर and सायण differ.

(I.5.11) says 'the four stomas (*viz.*, Trivṛt, Pañcadaśa, Saptadaśa, Ekaviṃśa) are Kṛta and the five are Kali, therefore the catus-ṣṭoma (should be performed).'¹

This shows that kṛta meant either four or any multiple of four and Kali a throw which when divided by four left one as remainder. When we come to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa² in the well-known story of Śunahśepa ('one lying down becomes Kali, when about to leave the bed he becomes Dvāpara, when rising he becomes Tretā and he becomes Kṛta when moving about') we find that the words Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali have come to be used in a figurative sense as representing either the *yugas* (periods of varying standards of morality) or at least progressively higher and higher stages of human activity. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa v. 4.4.6 identifies *Kali* with *abhibhū* and appears to suggest that *Kali* is a throw of five dice that vanquishes all other throws (*aya*).³ In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad⁴ also (IV.I.4) we read 'as (in a game of dice) all the lower casts belong to him who has conquered with the kṛta cast' and in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad⁵ (I. 2. 1) we are told 'this is the truth; the sacrificial works which they (the poets) saw in the hymns have been performed in many ways in the Tretā.' Here the word 'Tretā' is explained even by Śaṅkarācārya first as referring to the threefold priestly duties (hautra, ādhvaryava and audgātra) based on the three Vedas and alternatively as referring to the Tretā age. There are thus grave doubts whether the theory of four ages called Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali was known to the ancient Vedic Literature.

The Nirukta (I. 20) makes a distinction between sages of ancient times and those of later times 'the (ancient) sages had an

¹ ये वै चत्वारः स्तोमाः कृतं तत् । अथ ये पञ्च कलिः सः । तस्माच्चतुष्टोमः । तै. ब्रा. I. 5.11.

² कलिः शयानो भवति सञ्जिह्वानस्तु द्वापरः । उच्छिष्टं लेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. Chap. 33, Khanda 3. The Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra reads (15.9) 'शयानः पुरुषः' and 'उत्थितस्त्रेता.'

³ अथास्मै पञ्चाक्षान् पाणावावपति । अभिभूरस्येतास्ते पञ्च दिशः क पन्तामित्येष वा अयानमिभूर्धत्कालिरेष हि सर्वानयानमिभवति तस्मादाहमभिभूरसीति । शतपथ ब्रा. V. 4.4.6.

⁴ यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेयाः संयन्त्येवमेनं सर्वं तदमिसमेति । छान्. उ. IV. 1.4

⁵ तदेतत्सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन्तानि त्रेतायां बहुधा सन्ततानि । मुण्ड-कोपनिषद् I. 2.1.

intuitive perception of *dharma* and they imparted by instruction the (Vedic) *mantras* to later (sages) who had no intuitive perception of *dharma*.¹ Āpastamba² declares that 'among sages of old are observed transgressions of the precepts of śāstra and also violent actions, but that on account of their distinguished spiritual greatness they incurred no sin and that if a person of these latter days were to look upon them as worthy of imitation and were to do those acts he would sink into sin.' The Gautama-dharmasūtra³ (I.3-4) expresses a similar view almost in the same words. Āpastamba⁴ further says that sages are not born among men of latter days on account of the transgressions of religious ordinances (rampant in later ages). But the ancient *dharma-sūtras* do not exhibit the full-fledged theory of four *yugas* with their peculiar characteristics.

It is only in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, the Mahābhārata (e.g. Vanaparva 149 and 183), Manusmṛti (I. 81-86), the Purāṇas (e.g. Brāhma, chap. 122-123, Matsya chapter 142-143, Nāradiya, pūrvārdha, chapter 41) that we have a complete theory of the four *yugas*, their characteristics and of the progressive religious, moral and physical decadence in them. It would be impossible to fix the period when this theory was first proclaimed. But it may be conjectured that it was perfected during the five or six centuries preceding Christ when the great schism due to the genius of Buddha spread over India. The evidence of inscriptions does not carry the antiquity of this theory far enough. Among the earliest is the Pikira grant⁵ of Pallava Simhavarman where we have the words 'Who was ever ready to extricate *dharma* that had become sunk owing to the evil effects of *Kaliyuga*.'

¹ साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुस्तेऽवरंभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्वान्संप्रादुः । निश्क्त I. 20. Almost the same words occur in the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva 183.67 (Bom. ed.).

² दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः साहसं च पूर्वेषाम् । तेषां तेजोविशेषेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते । तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6.13.7-9; the भागवतपुराण X (पूर्वार्ध Chap. 33.30) has 'धर्मव्यतिक्रमो दृष्ट ईश्वराणां च साहसम् । तेजोयसां न दोषाय बहे सर्वभुजो यथा ॥'

³ दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः साहसं च महताम् । अवरदौर्बल्यात् । गौ. I. 3-4.

⁴ तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4.

⁵ E. I. vol. VIII. p. 162. 'कलियुगदोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरणनित्यसंनदस्य ।'

Kalivarjya (Actions forbidden in the Kali Age)

This theory of four *yugas* provided a formidable weapon to writers on dharma when inconvenient texts had to be explained away. Many of our authorities¹ have one verse in common *viz.* 'the religious ordinances are different in the Kṛta age and in Tretā and Dvāpara also; in the Kali age different ordinances apply to men in order to suit the decadence (of dharma) in each age.' Any practices that shocked the feelings of later writers were declared to be forbidden in the present age and were consigned to remote ages. Very amusing results follow from this. Parāśara (I. 24) claims that his *smṛti* contains the ordinances peculiar to the Kali age.² Parāśara lessened the periods of impurity due to death or birth according as a man was learned in the Vedas or otherwise³; he allowed a woman to remarry in case of five calamities *viz.* when the husband was missing or dead or had become an ascetic, was impotent or guilty of a *mahāpātaka*⁴; he allows even brāhmaṇas to take cooked food from *dāsas*, cowherds, barbers, &c.⁵ But it will be noticed from the extracts given later on that all these practices are condemned by later writers as forbidden in the Kali age.

In many digests like the *Smṛti-candrikā*, the works of Hemādri, the *Parāśaramādhaviya*, the *Udvāhatattva* of Raghunandana, the *Samayamayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha long extracts are given from a few purāṇas and from Śaunaka which condemn certain practices as forbidden in the Kali age (*Kalivarjya*). It is an interesting question to find out when these verses about *Kalivarjya* came to be composed.

¹ अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्माज्ञेतायां द्वारेऽपरे । अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगहासानुरूपतः ।
मनुस्मृति I. 85; पराशर I. 22.

² कृते तु मानवो धर्मज्ञेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः । द्वारे शाङ्गुलिखितः कलौ पराशरः
स्मृतः ॥ पराशरस्मृति I. 24.

³ एकाहान्छ्रुध्यते विप्रो योऽग्निवेदसमन्वितः । ऋहात्केवलवेदस्तु द्विहीनो दक्षभिर्दिनैः ॥
पराशरस्मृति III. 5.

⁴ नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ । पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥
पराशर IV.

⁵ दासनापितगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणः । एते शूद्रेषु भोज्यान्ना यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् ॥
पराशर XI.

Even Āpastamba (II.6. 14.6-10) condemns the practice¹ of giving all property to the eldest son as opposed to Śāstra, but he does not use the word *Kalivarjya*. Among the earliest references to practices once current but forbidden in the Kali age is a passage of Bṛhaspati² quoted by Aparārka (p. 97 Ānandāśrama ed.) where *niyoga* is said to be impossible owing to decadence (of dharma) in the several ages and where the several kinds of sons are declared as impossible in the present age. The Prajāpatismṛti refers to the ancient practice of offering flesh in śrāddha and prescribes that wine and all flesh are to be eschewed in śrāddha in the Kali age.³ The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti (21. 14-15) says that the two kinds of sons called Kuṇḍa and Golaka were permitted in other ages but are condemned in Kali. It deserves to be noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not quote a single verse about Kalivarjya. Even Vijñāneśvara quotes a single verse about Kalivarjya⁴ in which *niyoga*, the giving of a special share to the eldest son and the killing of a cow in a sacrifice are condemned as not allowable in the present age. Even when almost all the Purāṇas wax very eloquent over moral and physical decline in the Kali age, most of them do not contain any verses about *Kalivarjya*. The Nāradya Mahāpurāṇa contains four verses about Kalivarjya.⁵ Aparārka quotes one verse and a half from

1 ज्येष्ठो दायद इत्येके । . . . तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम् । आप ध. सू. II.6.14. 6 and 10.

2 उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युगहासादशक्योयं कर्तुं सर्वैर्विधानतः ॥ . . . द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिहानिर्विनिर्मिता ॥ अनेकधा कृताः पुत्रा ऋषिभिर्ये पुरातनैः । न शक्यास्तेऽधुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनतया नरैः ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपारर्क p. 97.

3 'मद्यम्यमृतं श्रद्धिं कलौ तनु विवर्जयेत् । मांसान्यपि हि सर्वाणि युगधर्मक्रमाद्भवेत्' प्रजापति verse 151 [Ānandāśrama ed.]

4 उक्तं च । यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ मिताक्षर (on याज्ञ. II. 117.) The स्मृतिचंद्रिका (व्यवहार काण्ड, ed. Gharpure) says that this verse is taken from the संग्रह [i.e. स्मृतिसंग्रह].

5 समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् । द्विजानामसर्वपांस्तु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥ देवराज सुतोत्पत्तिर्मुपकं पशोर्वेधः । मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धं वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥ दक्षाक्षतायाः कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं वराय च । नैष्ठिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं च नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥ महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः । एतान् धर्मान् कलियुगे बन्धुनाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, Chap. 24 vv. 13-16 (Venkateshwar Press ed.). These verses are quoted as from the बृहन्नारदीय in the उद्वाहत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (p. 112, Jivananda's ed.), the निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367 Nirṇayasagar ed.)

the Brahmapurāṇa on practices forbidden in the Kali age, viz. perpetual *brahmacharya* (student-hood), the taking of a *kamaṇḍalu*, marriage with a *sagotra* or *sapinda* girl, killing a cow, human sacrifice and *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice).¹ I was not able to trace these in the Brahmapurāṇa published by the Venkateshwar Press. The *Prāyascittatattva* of Raghunandana (p. 520, Jivananda's ed.) says that these passages of the Brahmapurāṇa were quoted as from that Purāṇa by Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇi and Gṛhasthratnākara. Aparārka (p. 98) quotes one verse and a half more from the Brahmapurāṇa forbidding remarriage of women, procreation of a son from the husband's brother and independence of women in the Kali age². The *Smṛticandrikā*³ quotes from the *Āditya-purāṇa* a verse saying that five actions should not be practised in Kali, viz., the remarriage of a woman once married, the special share given to the eldest (on a partition), the killing of a cow, (intercourse) with the wife of one's brother and taking up of a *kamaṇḍalu*. Apararka (p. 233) quotes a verse from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* in which the view of Bhṛgu that in the Kali age no animal is to be offered in *Madhuparka* is mentioned. Apararka⁴ (p. 233) quotes two verses from a *Smṛti* without naming the author, one of which forbids in the Kali age the killing of a cow in a sacrifice, the procreation of a son from the husband's brother (by *niyoga*), sacrificial sessions called *saltras*, the carrying of a *kamaṇḍalu*, the employment of wine (in the *Sautrāmaṇi* sacrifice), and being a *sannyāsin* (of the *Parama-*

¹ दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं धारणं च कमण्डलोः । सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा ॥
नराश्वमेधौ मयं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः । ब्रह्मपुराणं quoted by अपरार्क pp. 15 and 63;
स्मृतिचंद्रिका, आह्निककाण्ड p. 12 (ed. by Gharpure), पराशरमाधवीय Vol. 1 part 1
p. 133. The last two lines are quoted in the *निर्णयसिन्धु* (p. 367), but
following the *स्मृतिचंद्रिका* it reads 'गोत्रान्मातुः सपिण्डाच्च विवाहः' &c. This
last will mean 'marriage with a sagotra girl or with a girl who is a sapinda
of one's mother' (or who is the maternal uncle's daughter, as some explain).

² स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्पुत्रस्तन्तिः । स्वातन्त्र्यं च कलियुगे कर्तव्यं न कदाचन ॥
यतः पातकिनो लोके नराः सन्ति कलौ युगे । ब्रह्मपुराणं quoted in अपरार्क p. 98.

³ ऊढायाः पुनरुद्धाहं ज्येष्ठांशं गोवधं तथा । कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत भ्रातृजायां कमण्डलुम् ॥
आदित्यपुराणं quoted in *स्मृतिचंद्रिका*, आह्निक p. 83; vide also p. 12 of the
same and p. 266 of *स्मृतिचंद्रिका*, व्यवहारकाण्ड ; हेमाद्रि, परिशेषखण्ड p. 666.

⁴ अत एव स्मरन्ति । गोपशुं देवरात् पुत्रं सत्रयागं कमण्डलुम् । सुराप्रयोगं भिक्षुं च न
कुर्वीत कलौ युगे ॥ तथा । अक्षता नरमेधश्च गोयज्ञश्च कमण्डलुः । देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिः कलौ
पञ्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 233.

haṁsa type), while the other forbids (the remarriage of) a girl whose marriage has not been consummated, human sacrifice, sacrifice of a cow, taking a kamaṇḍalu and *niyoga*. The Smṛticandrikā, the Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri, the Parāśamādhaviya, the Nirṇayasindhu, the Samayamayūkha and other digests quote a very long passage from a purāṇa (which most of them cite as Āditya-purāṇa) which enumerates the practices that were forbidden by the great sages at the beginning of the Kali age after considering the reasons for and against them. That passage is set out in the appendix and a translation is given here with brief notes wherever necessary. The foregoing discussion shows that definite rules on *Kalivarjya* began to be prescribed about the 4th century A.D. with Brhaspati and other older smṛtikāras, that the work called Saṁgraha (which is certainly earlier than the 10th century) contained such a list, that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi (both of whom flourished between 800-925) do not quote verses on Kalivarjya and that from the 12th century onwards (as the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri show) long lists of *Kalivarjyas* come to be quoted in the digests on *Dharma*. Therefore the period during which *Kalivarjya* practices figure in the Purāṇas and other works must be taken to be from about the 4th century A.D. to the 8th or 9th century A.D., when Buddhism was vanquished and the Indian social fabric was being reconstructed.

The several *Kalivarjyas* as mentioned in the passage of the Ādityapurāṇa will now be set out.

- (1) To appoint the husband's brother for procreating a son on a widow.

This refers to the practice of *niyoga*, which was allowed by Gautama (18.9-14), Nārada (śrīpūṁsa, verse 58), Yājñavalkya (I.68-69), though it was condemned by Manu (9.64-68), and Brhaspati.

- (2) The re-marriage of a (married) girl (whose marriage is not consummated) and of one (whose marriage was consummated) to another husband (after the death of the first). This refers to re-marriage of widows. Nārada (śrīpūṁsa, verses 98-100) allowed re-marriage of even brāhmaṇa widows in certain calamities and Parāśara did the same (*vide* note

4, p. 5 above), while Vasiṣṭha (17.74) and Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra (IV.1.18) allow the re-marriage of a girl whose first marriage was not consummated.

The passage is read 'bālikākṣatayonyāśca' also; in that case it will mean only 'a married girl whose marriage has not been consummated' while the other reading refers to two kinds of widows (whose marriage is consummated and whose marriage is not so).

3. The marriage with girls of different *varṇa* among persons of the three twice-born classes.

Most ancient smṛtis allowed *anuloma* marriages e.g. Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I.8.2-5, Vasiṣṭha I.24-27, Manu III. 14-19, Yājñavalkya I. 56-57.

4. The killing even in a straight fight of brāhmaṇas that have become desperadoes.

This is a subject which very much exercised the minds of writers on dharma; Manu (8.350-351), Viṣṇu V. 180-90, Vasiṣṭha (III. 15-18) permit the killing of an ātatāyi-brāhmaṇa, while Sumantu says 'there is no sin in killing an ātatāyin, except a brāhmaṇa and a cow', and so forbids the killing even of an ātatāyi-brāhmaṇa. Vide Mitākṣarā on Yāj. II.21 for a discussion on this.

5. The acceptance (for all ordinary intercourse such as eating with him) of a twice-born person who is in the habit of voyaging over the sea in a ship, even after he has undergone a prāyaścitta.

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I.1.20 mentions sea voyage as a practice peculiar to brāhmaṇas of Northern India and condemns it, by placing it first among *patanīyas* (II. 1.41). Some writers say that the prohibition applies to one who often crosses the sea as the compound 'nau-yātuḥ' shows. Auśanasa says that 'Samudraga' is *patita* (p. 525, of Jivananda).

6. The initiation for a *sattra*.

7. The taking a Kamaṇḍalu (a jar for water).

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (I.3.4) prescribes among the observances of *snātakas* (those who have finished their study and have married or are about to marry) that they should carry a

(earthen or wooden) pot filled with water; Vasiṣṭha 12.14 and Manu 4.36 and Yāj I. 132 also do the same. The Madanapārijāta (p. 15-16) while quoting some of these verses says that 'Kamaṇḍalu-vidhāraṇa' refers to perpetual studenthood, but that is not correct, since in the Nārāḍīya-purāṇa quoted above (note 5, p. 6) the two are separately mentioned as forbidden.

8. Starting on the Great Journey.

This refers to the practice of starting towards the north-east in the case of those who had become forest-dwellers (*vide* Manu VI. 31 and Yāj. III. 55) and the practice of old men killing themselves by starting on the great journey till the body falls, by falling from a precipice or by entering the Ganges at a holy place like Prayāga or by entering fire. *Vide* Aparārka p. 536 where the *smṛti* passages allowing this are quoted. Note that Śūdraka, the reputed author of the *Mṛcchakatika*, is said to have entered fire and *vide* Raghuvamśa 8.94; Atri, verses 218-219 which are quoted even by Medhātithi on Manu V. 88; E. I. vol. I. p. 140 and E. I. XII. 205 for instances of kings throwing themselves into the Ganges at Prayāga.

9. The killing of a cow in the sacrifice called Gomedha; *vide* Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta 14.15.1, Kātyāyana-śrauta XXII.11.3-4 and Manu XI. 74.

10. The partaking of wine even in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.

This is a sacrifice principally to Sutrāman (*i.e.* Indra) in which three cups of wine were offered to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra and a brāhmaṇa had to be hired for drinking the remnants of wine offered. *Vide* Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa I. 8. 6. 2, Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta 15. 15. 1-14 and Śabara on Pūrva-mimāṃsā-sūtra III. 5. 14-15.

11—12. Licking the ladle (*sruc*) after the *agnihotra homa* in order to take off the remains of the offerings and using the ladle in the *agnihotra* afterwards when it has been so licked. *Vide* Tai. Br. II. 1.4 and Satyāśādhaśrauta for this.

13. Entering into the stage of forest hermit as laid down in śāstras about it. Āp. Dharma-sūtra II. 9.21. 18—II. 9.23.2,

Manu VI. 1-32, Vasiṣṭha IX. 1-11 contain elaborate rules about this stage.

14. Lessening the periods of impurity (due to death and birth) in accordance with the conduct and Vedic learning of a man.

Vide Parāśara (note 3, p. 5) quoted above saying that a brāhmaṇa who is endowed with both Vedic learning and *agnihotra* has to observe āśauca (mourning) only for one day and he who is only learned has to observe it for three days. *Vide* also Bṛhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gautama 14.1. In Kali a flat rule of ten days for all came to be prescribed. Viśvarūpa on Yāj III. 30 has an elaborate discussion on this text and ultimately gets rid of it by saying that it is only an *arthavāda* meant to praise the absence of greed and presence of excellent conduct. It is not quite unreasonable to infer that if Viśvarūpa had attached any value to or known these verses on Kalivarjya he would not have failed to make use of them for explaining away Parāśara.

15. Prescribing death as the penance (prāyaścitta) for brāhmaṇas.

Manu (II. 89 and 146) says that for wilfully killing a brāhmaṇa and drinking wine the prāyaścitta is death. Gautama 21.7 says the same, following Manu.

16. Expiation (by secretly performed prāyaścittas) of the mortal sins other than theft (of gold) and the sin of contact (with those guilty of Mahāpātakas).

Manu XI. 54 enumerates contact with those guilty of the four mahāpātakas as a fifth mahāpātakā. Gautama 24 and Vasistha 25 prescribe secret prāyaścittas even for mahāpātakas like *brahmahatyā*. This rule says that there are no secret prāyaścittas in Kali for brahmahatyā, or drinking wine and for incest. *Vide* Aparārka p. 1212 for rules as to who was entitled to secret prāyaścittas.

17. The act of offering with *mantras* animal flesh to the bridegroom, the guest, and the *pitr̥s*.

Madhuparka was offered to honoured guests among whom the bridegroom was included. *Vide* Gautama V. 25-35, Yāj.

I. 109. The offering of flesh of various animals in śrāddha was supposed to conduce to the enjoyment of pitrs. *Vide* Yāj. I. 258-260, Manu III. 123. According to Āsvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra I. 24.26 Madhuparka could not be offered without flesh. *Vide* Vasiṣṭha IV. 5-6.

18. The acceptance as sons of those other than the *aurasa* (natural) and adopted sons.

Manu 9. 165-80, Yāj. II. 128-132 and others speak of twelve kinds of sons.

19. Ordinary intercourse with those who incurred the sin of (having intercourse with) women of higher castes, even after they had undergone the *prāyaścitta* for such sin.

Gautama (IV. 20 and 22-23) severely condemns the intercourse of men of lower castes with women of higher castes and holds that their progeny is *dharmahīna*.

20. The abandonment of the wife of an elderly person (or of one who is entitled to respect) when she has had intercourse with one with whom it is severely condemned.

Vasiṣṭha 21.10 says 'four kinds of women *viz.* one who has intercourse with a pupil or with the husband's teacher, or one who kills her husband or commits adultery with a man of degraded caste, should be abandoned.'

Yāj. (III. 296-297) is against and says that even such women should be kept near the house and given starving maintenance. *Vide* Atri V. 1-5.

21. Killing oneself for the sake of another.

The Smṛtis say that a man should run the risk of life for cows and brāhmaṇas; *vide* Manu XI. 79 and Viṣṇu III. 45.

22. Giving up food left after one has partaken of it.

Vasiṣṭha 14.20-21 says that food left after one has partaken of it from what was taken out for oneself or food touched by such leavings should not be eaten. Or this may mean 'giving to another the leavings of food'; some smṛtis permit giving Ucchiṣṭa to Śūdras and the like, which is forbidden here. *Vide* Gautama X. 61 and Manu X. 125.

23. Resolve to worship a particular idol for life (in return for payment). Manu III. 152 makes a brāhmaṇa performing worship for money unfit for invitation in śrāddha and 'devakṛtya.'

24. Touching the bodies of persons who are in impurity due to death after the charred bones are collected.

Collection of charred bones took place on the fourth day after cremation. Viṣṇu 19.10-12; Vaikhānasa-Smārtasūtra V. 7. ; Saṁvarta, verses 38-39.

25. The actual slaughter by brāhmaṇas of the sacrificial animal.

26. Sale of the Soma plant by brāhmaṇas. Kātyāyana-Śrauta (VII. 6.2-4) says that Soma should be purchased from a brāhmaṇa of the Kautsa gotra or a śūdra; but Manu X. 88 forbids a brāhmaṇa the sale of Soma along with many other things even through living by agriculture and the avocations of a vaiśya and Manu (III. 158 and 170) condemns a brāhmaṇa who sells *Soma* as unfit for being invited at a Śrāddha.

27. Securing food even from a śūdra when a brāhmaṇa has had no food for six times of meals (*i.e.* for three days).

Manu XI. 16 allows a brāhmaṇa who has had no food for three days to take food for one day from one whose actions are low and so does Yaj. III. 43. If we read 'hīnakarmaṇā' it would mean 'even by doing what is low' (*i.e.* by begging or theft or by such actions as are described in Nārada, abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā, vv. 5-7).

28. Permission to (a brāhmaṇa) householder to take cooked food from Śūdras if they are his *dāśas*, cowherds, hereditary friends, persons cultivating his land on an agreement to pay part of the produce.

Many smṛtis allow a brāhmaṇa to have cooked food from Śūdras if they are that brāhmaṇa's *dāśas*, barber, cowherd or cultivator of his land, hereditary friend. *Vide* Gautama 17.6, Manu IV. 253, Yāj. I.166 (where the first half is the same as here), Aṅgiras 120, Parāśara XI (note 5, p. 5).

29. Going on a very distant pilgrimage.

30. Behaviour of a pupil towards his teacher's wife as towards a teacher that is declared (in *smṛtis*).

Manu II. 210 prescribes that the wives of one's teacher, if they are of the same *varṇa* as the teacher, are to be honoured like the teacher and if they are not of the same *varṇa* then by rising to receive them and by saluting them.

31. The maintenance by *brāhmanas* in adversity (by following unworthy avocations) and the mode of livelihood in which a *brāhmana* does not care to accumulate for to-morrow.

Gautama VII. 1-7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.20.11—I.7.21.4, Yaj. III. 35-44 and others allow a *brāhmana* to live by the occupations of a *Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya* in adversity. Manu IV.7 places before a *brāhmana* the ideal that he should not accumulate more corn than what is required for three days or for the current day. Both these extremes are forbidden here.

32. The acceptance of *araṇis* (two wooden blocks for producing fire) by *brāhmanas* (in the *homa* at the time of *jātakarma*) in order that all the ceremonies for the child from *jātakarma* to his marriage may be performed therein. The *Saṃskāra-kaustubha* quotes a *gṛhyapariśiṣṭa* for this.¹

33. Constant journeys by *brāhmanas*.

34. Blowing of fire with the mouth (*i.e.* without employing a bamboo *dhamanī*).

In Manu IV. 53 also the same prohibition occurs. In Vedic passages blowing at the fire with breath from the mouth direct was allowed. Vide Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I.5.15.20.

35. Allowing women who have become polluted by rape, &c. to freely mix in the caste (when they have performed *prāyaścitta*) as declared in the *śāstric* texts.

¹ परिशिष्टान्तरे तस्मिन् कुमारस्य तु जातस्य अरणीं षोडशाङ्गुलिम्। आहृत्य चोत्तरामणीं ताभ्यामग्निं तु मन्थयेत्। कुमारकर्माणि विवाहान्तानि कारयेत्।

Even so late a *smṛti* as Devala's (verse 47) allows a woman raped even by *Mlecchas* to become pure after *prāyaścitta* for three days. The *Ādityapurāṇa* appears to be most harsh on innocent and unfortunate women.

36. Begging of food by a *sannyāsin* from persons of all *varṇas* (including *śūdra*).

Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra II.10 allows a *sannyāsin* to beg food from all *varṇas*, while *Manu* (VI. 43) and *Yaj.* III.59 prescribe that he should beg in a village in the evening and *Vasiṣṭha* also (X. 7) requires him to beg at seven houses not selected beforehand. But *Vasiṣṭha* says a little later on (X.24) that he should subsist on what he would get at the houses of *brāhmaṇas*.

37. To wait (*i.e.* not to use) for ten days water that has recently been dug in the ground.

38. Giving fee to the teacher as demanded by him (at the end of study) according to the rules laid down in the *śāstra*.

Yaj. I.51 prescribes that a student after finishing Vedic study and performing *vratas* should give fees to the teacher as the latter desires and should perform the ceremonial bath.

39. The employment of *śūdras* as cooks for *brāhmaṇas* and the rest.

The *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* II.2.3.4 allowed *Śūdras* to be cooks for the three higher *varṇas* under the supervision of *āryas*.

40. Suicide of old people by falling from a precipice or into fire.

Vide item no. 8 above.

41. Performing *ācamana* by respectable people in water that would remain even after a cow has drunk it to its heart's content.

Vasiṣṭha III. 35 says that water accumulated in a hole on the ground would be fit for *ācamana* if it is as much as would quench the thirst of a cow. Vide *Manu* V. 128 and *Yāj.* I. 192.

42. Fining witnesses who depose to a dispute between father and son.

Yaj. II.239 prescribes a fine of three paṇas for witnesses in disputes between father and son.

43. Sannyāsin should stay where he happens to be in the evening.

This may also mean 'a sannyāsin should beg at the houses in the evening.'

Manu VI.55-56 and Yaj. I.59 prescribe for *Yati* begging in the evening.

These are the Kalivarjyas set out in the Ādityapurāṇa.

Besides these the passages quoted above also mention the following as *Kalivarjya*.

Govadhā—A cow was killed in Madhuparka (Mānavagṛhya I.9.19), in the Aṣṭakā śrāddha (Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya II.15.1) and a barren cow was sacrificed for Mitra and Varuṇa (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 26, pp. 387-391).

Uddhāravibhāga—giving a larger share to the eldest brother on a partition. Vide Manu 9.112 and 117.

Puruṣamedha—Vide Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, 13th kāṇḍa, adhyāya 6; Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra 16.10-14.

Āśvamedha—Vide Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, 13th kāṇḍa, adhyāyas 1-4 for it.

Brahmacarya for a very long time or perpetual studenthood.

Parāśara II.5, Bhāradvājagṛhya 1.9, Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra I.2. 1 prescribed brahmacarya for 48 years. Vide Śabara on Jaimini I.3.3 who shows how Baudhāyana is opposed to Vedic injunctions (quoted in 'History of Dharmaśāstra' p. 26, n. 73).

Madya—Wine was forbidden to brāhmaṇas at all times and in all stages (Gautama II.25). There was divergence about Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. Many authorities agreed that wine from flour was forbidden to Kṣatriya and Vaiśya householders, but not that which was prepared from raw sugar and honey. Vide Mitākṣarā on Yaj. III. 253.

APPENDIX.

Verses on Kalivarjya collected from the Smṛticandrikā,¹ Hemādri (Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa), Parāśara-mādhaviya Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 134-137), Nirṇaya-sindhu, Samayamayūkha, Udvāhatattva.

विधवायां प्रजोत्पत्तौ देवरस्य नियोजनम् ।
 बालिकाक्षतयोन्योस्तु वरेणान्येन संस्कृतिः ॥
 कन्यानामसवर्णीनां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ।
 आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम् ॥
 द्विजस्याब्धौ तु नौयातुः शोधितस्यापि संग्रहः ।
 सत्रदीक्षा च सर्वेषां कमण्डलुविधारणम् ॥
 महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोसंज्ञातिश्च गोसवे ।
 सौत्रामण्यामपि सुराग्रहणस्य च संग्रहः ॥
 अग्निहोत्रहवण्याश्च लेहो लीढापरिग्रहः ।
 वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्यापि प्रवेशो विधिचोदितः ॥
 वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसंकोचनं तथा ।
 प्रायाश्चित्तविधानं तु विप्राणां मरणान्तिकम् ॥
 संसर्गदोषः स्तेनाद्यैर्महापातकनिष्कृतिः ।
 वरातिथिपितृभ्यश्च पशूपाकरणक्रिया ॥
 दत्तौरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ।
 सवर्णान्याङ्गनादुष्टौ संसर्गः शोधितैरपि ॥
 अयोनौ संग्रहे वृत्ते परित्यागो गुरुस्त्रियाः ।
 *परोद्देशात्मसंत्याग उच्छिष्टस्यापि वर्जनम् ।
 *प्रतिमाभ्यर्चनायां संकल्पश्च सधर्मकः ।
 अस्थिसंचयनादूर्ध्वमङ्गस्पर्शनमेव च ।
 शामित्रं चैव विप्राणां सोमविक्रयणं तथा ।
 षड्भक्तानशनेनाद्यहरणं हीनकर्मणः ।
 शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्थसीरिणाम् ।
 भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ।

शिष्यस्य गुरुदारेषु गुरुवद्वृत्तिरीरिता ।
 आपद्वृत्तिर्द्विजाग्र्याणामश्वस्तनिकता तथा ।
 प्रजार्थं तु द्विजाग्र्याणां प्रजारणिपरिग्रहः ।
 ब्राह्मणानां प्रवासित्वं सुखाम्निधमनक्रिया ।
 बलात्कारादिदुष्टस्त्रीसंग्रहो विधिचोदितः ।
 यतेस्तु सर्ववर्णेषु भिक्षाचर्या विधानतः ।
 नवोदके दशाहं च दक्षिणा गुरुचोदिता ।
 ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पचनादिक्रियापि च ।
 भृश्वमिपतनाद्यैश्च वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ।
 गोवृत्तिशिष्टे पयसि शिष्टैराचमनक्रिया ।
 पितापुत्रविरोधेषु साक्षिणां दण्डकल्पनम् ।
 यतेः सायंगृहत्वं च सूरिभिस्तत्त्वतत्परैः ।
 एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
 निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।
 समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद्भवेत् ॥

*These two half lines do not occur in some of the older digests like the *Smṛticandrikā*.

THE SECT OF IMAM SHAH IN GUJRAT.

By W. IVANOW.

1. *Preliminary Remarks.*

There are many sects in India in which the beliefs of Islam are strangely mixed up with the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. Such, for instance, are the widely spread branches of the Panjpiriya on the Gangetic plains, or different local sects worshipping the tombs of various Muhammadan saints in the Punjab, Sindh, and practically everywhere in Northern India. In some places large numbers of Muslims, who are generally regarded as orthodox, follow Hinduistic beliefs and practices. Millions of nominally orthodox Muhammadans of rural Bengal worship Kali, Sitala, etc., as much, if not more than Allah and His Prophet.

Such is the state of affairs to-day; most probably centuries ago, when Islam was gradually spreading in this country, such transition forms between Muhammadanism and Hinduism were more numerous, and were followed by a much greater proportion of the whole Muhammadan population of India.

The ground for such symbiosis of these two widely different religious standpoints was double. Islam, introduced and encouraged by Muhammadan rulers, never developed an adequate propaganda organisation, which probably always remained dependent on sporadic and spontaneous efforts of different individuals or private bodies. Under these circumstances there was rarely sufficient possibility to get rid entirely of all that was contrary to the spirit of Islam in the "mentality" of the new converts. In some other cases, most probably, a certain amount of those beliefs which were unessential by themselves, were consciously left by missionaries whose intention was to make conversion for Hindus as little difficult as possible.

On the other hand, Hinduism itself shows a great deal of a quite spontaneous inclination towards some aspects of Muhammadan worship which it easily incorporates into its rather amorphous structure. Such especially is the worship of tombs of

different saints, participation in the processions of Muharram, etc. The demand for belief in miracles was apparently always so great in Hinduism that it did not hesitate to worship the graves of those saints who, when alive, were taking special pride of being irreconcilable enemies of the Hindu religion.

Such paradoxical phenomena in popular religious life should appear extremely interesting to every student of Indian sociology and cultural evolution ; unfortunately, just as many other features of the life of masses, they very rarely find an expression in literature, or leave any tangible records, and thus are extremely difficult to observe.

One of the strangest, and the most interesting sects of this kind apparently is the sect of the Imam-Shahis, or Satpanthis, as they call themselves. They are found at present in Gujrat, Kathiawar, Kachh, Berar, and Khandesh. Almost all of them are Hindus of different castes, chiefly agriculturists and traders. Their number is differently estimated at about 200,000, but this number is rapidly decreasing, especially of late, when many Hindu bodies are making efforts to reconvert the Satpanthis to Hinduism.

The sect came into existence in Gujrat about the first quarter of the XVIth century, when Muhammad, son of Imâm Shâh, has severed his connection with the parent sect of the Nizari Ismailis. But as originally the Satpanthis of Gujrat were converted by Imam Shah, the sect is called after him, though, as far as it is possible to see from the few records which are available, he himself remained faithful to the original religion.

Satpanth, i.e. " True Path ", was the name under which the Nizari, or Persian Ismailism was preached in India by the Persian Ismaili missionaries in the beginning of the XIVth century. The new religion was rapidly spreading in what at that time was the cultural centre of the Muslim power in India, i.e. Upper Sindh and the Panjab. The establishment of a new Muhammadan dynasty in Gujrat in the beginning of the XVth century opened a new field for missionary activity, and Imam Shah, who started the campaign, met with remarkable success. The split, caused by his son, separated his community from the original Satpanth,

which is now better known as the Khoja Nizari Ismaili community. The latter, preserving contact with their Imams in Persia, and being more open to influences of the original Persian Ismailism, continually pursued the policy of getting rid of those Hinduistic elements which earlier missionaries permitted, and of replacing these with purely Islamic ideas. Contrary to this, the seceding sect was left entirely at the mercy of the Hinduistic ideas, and, in the course of time, has gradually lost all touch with the Islamic world. Thus in the course of time a great gulf has formed between these two communities, and though at present both of them revere the memory of the ancient missionaries, and regard their books as their sacred literature, they widely differ in many essential dogmas and practices.

The student who would like to take up this most interesting subject, will find himself quite helpless. A great difficulty is added by the confusion in the names of the sect. As usual in India, caste and sectarian names do not often coincide. For instance, the well-known term Khoja, by which the world at large would not hesitate to understand a Nizari Ismaili, is merely a *caste* name. The majority of Khojas really are Nizari Ismailis. But there are also Sunni Khojas, and Ithna-'ashari Khojas, etc. Similarly, there are Momnâs (from *mu'min*) who are for the most part Imam-Shahis. But some of them may be Sunnites, etc. Thus when in historical records there is a mention of Matias, or Kanbis, etc., there is no guarantee whatever that this refers to the followers of Imam Shah exclusively.

Satpanth possesses a remarkably large religious literature, taking into consideration the fact that probably about 99 per cent. of its followers always were illiterate peasants. This literature consists of religious books in old Sindhi, Gujrati, and sometimes Panjabi and Hindi.

These books contain sacred hymns (*gnans*),¹ moral advices, miracle stories and legends, ecstatic poems, etc. But, in complete agreement with the Hindu spirit, they never take any interest in historical matters. Oral tradition, which can never be regarded

¹ The meaning of this term is explained further on, see p. 29.

as a reliable source, is here plainly and obviously unreliable, partly because it always prefers legend to historical facts, and partly because it is invariably prejudiced by some sectarian feelings, supporting the claims of one or other of the numerous branches of the sect, often bitterly hostile to every other. On the other hand, it would be obviously useless to search for any information about the sect in general historical literature, because it almost always existed as a secret community. Even now a great proportion of it, the Guptis, as they are called, are in appearance ordinary Hindus, quite undistinguishable from their fellow-castemen.

The information preserved about them in the official publications of the Government of India, such as the Gazetteers, etc., is often very valuable. But, as is well-known, it is not always based on sufficiently reliable sources with regard to the historical side. During the last few decades a new literature, in Gujrati, has sprung up, attempting to some extent to clear up the history of the Khojas and the Imam-Shahis. As a rule it is of very little help, partly because it is chiefly based on legends and oral tradition, and partly because it is almost invariably conceived by the spirit of propaganda, controversy, or factional quarrels between the different branches of the sect.¹

Such, for instance, is the *Khoja Vratant* (Ahmedabad, 1892), by Sachedina Nanjiani, a Khoja renegade, who attacks his former co-religionists. *Khoja Komno Itihas* (1908), a history of the Khojas, by Jaffer Rahimtoola Kadru; *Nāriwahdāniyyat*, and *Ismaili Darpan*, on the religion of the Khojas, by Hasham Bogu Master; *Khoja Komni Tawarikh* (Amreli, 1912), a controversy, by Edulji Dhonji Kava; *Momin Komno Itihas* (Bombay, 1936), a history of Imams, by MiyANJI Noormahomed Roohkash; *Pirana Satpanth ni Pol* (1926), a controversy, by Patel Narayanji Ramgibhai Contractor; *Tawārīkhi Pīr*, I (1914) and II (1935), by Sayyid Šadru'd-dīn Dargāhwāllā of Nawsari; the works by the learned editor of the

¹ My own knowledge of Gujrati is insignificant, and for all information derived from the Gujrati and Sindhi sources, as well as many important facts, I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to my friends, Haji Mahomed Fazal, and to Mr. Husein Sherif, the assistant editor of the "Ismaili" (Bombay), who generously offered me their time and labour.

"Ismaili" (a Bombay weekly) Alimahomed Janmahomed Chunara *Ismaili Nar Ratno* (Bombay, 1931); *Ismaili Virla* (Bombay, 1932) and *Noorun Mubin* (Bombay, 1936),—all three representing the orthodox point of Khoja Ismailism, etc.

The following is the list of the sacred religious works accepted both by the Khojas and the Imam-Shahis. About their authors see further on.

I. Pir Shamsu'd-dîn: 1. *Sloko Mofo* (gnans); 2. *Garbî* (also gnans); 3. *Mansamjâri* (Sufic, on self-knowledge); 4. *Bharam Prakâsh* (on knowledge of God); 5. *Kathâ Râjâ Govarchand* (instructive story); 6. *Vâyak mofo* (moral doctrine); 7. *Hans Hanslî* (legend).

II. Pir Şadru'd-dîn: 1. *Sloko Nâno* (gnans); 2. *Buj Nîrânjan* (Sufic); 3. *Gîrbhâwali* (story of the creation); 4. *Das Avatâr, Nâno* and *Mofo* (two versions of the well-known mythological history of the world, narrating the events which took place under the ten successive incarnations of the Deity); 5. *So Kîriya* (100 religious rites); 6. *Ârâdh* (prayers); 7. *Vînodh* (lamentations); 8. *Gâvantrî* (story of the creation); 9. *Atharv Vedh* (an imitation of the *Attharva Veda*); 10. *Sûrat Samâchâr* (physiognomy); 11. *Budh Avatâr* (the 9th avatar); 12. *Khaṭ Dharsan* (six pilgrimages); 13. *Khaṭ Nîrânjan* (six invisible worlds).

III. Pir Hasan Kabîru'd-dîn: 1. *Anant Akhâro* (eschatology, description of life after death); 2. *Vel* (gnans); 3. *Bharam Gâvantrî* (story of the creation); 4. *Nav Chhugâ* (nine appeals to the Imam); 5. *Hasna Purî* (description of Paradise); 6. *Samvad Pîr Hasan Kabîru'd-dîn wa Kânîpâ Jogi* (contest between the Pir and a jogi).

IV. Imâm Shâh: 1. *Jugeshwâr Abdu-nâ Gnân* (Sufic); 2. *Mur Gâvantrî* (story of the creation); 3. *Parb Pândav* (the story of the Pandavas); 4. *Sî Harfî* (30 moral rules); 5. *Atharvedi Gâvantrî* (incarnations of the Diety); 6. *Jannat Purî* (description of his journey to Persia); 7. *Satvarnî Moṭi* (miracle stories); 8. *Bâvan Gâtî* (eschatology: Hell); 9. *Naklank Gûtâ* (avatars of the Imams).

V. Nar Muḥammad Shâh: *Satvarnî* (history of the Fatimid Imams), and *Satvepî jî Vel* (on rituals, Imams and Pirs).

VI. Pîr Ghulâm 'Alî Shâh (a minor saint, whose grave is found in Keyra, Kachh): *Manhar* (on asceticism and philosophy).

VII. Sat-Gur-Nûr (buried in Nawsari): *Putlâ* (miracles).

It may be noted that there are also several anthologies each containing a selection of one hundred *gnans*, by different *pîrs*. They are simply called "*gnans*," without any special designation.

There were several early historical works which at present are apparently lost. Such was the *Ta'rikhi Muḥammadiyya* (or *Maḥmûdiyya*), attributed by the author of the *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb* (on which see further on) to the son of Imam Shah, Nar Muḥammad. But it is quite possible that this is the Persian title of his other well-known work, in Sindhi, the *Satveni-ji Vel* ("Creeper of the True Religion"), which has been repeatedly printed of late. The work is in verse, and is divided into 150 "paths." It gives a kind of legendary history of the Imams and the *pîrs*, in rather florid and bombastic style, chiefly dealing with miracles. Here and there purely moral or religious prescriptions are inserted. It gives some dates, here and there, the latest being 1516 and 1520 A.D. It is quite possible that the author of the *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb* has based on it various portions of his book, namely those dealing with Imam Shah.

It is not clear whether the next attempted history of the sect has ever been completed. It was undertaken by "Mahdî Shâhib", or Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdî, a great-grandson of Pîr Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, who flourished in Burhanpur most probably in the first quarter of the XII/XVIIIth c. A manuscript copy of the *Malfûzâti Mahdî Shâhib* was shown to me by the son of the present *Sajjâda-nishîn*, Sayyid Nûr 'Alî b. Ashraf 'Alî Shâh. The *Malfûzât* in fact consist of two small fragments, i.e., the initial portions of two different hagiological works, in Persian. The first, about fifteen pages long, contains the story of the origin of the line of *pîrs*, with biographical information about some of them; this is almost exclusively confined to stories about their miracles. Many of such stories are in verse. The narrative in this fragment ends with Nar Muḥammad. It is not clear whether the work was ever finished, and whether other copies of it exist.

The value of this work for research is nil. It is merely an attempt to put into a written form the legends which were in circulation, and this was done rather badly. The sequence of names is completely confused. It is said that the pîrs of the line are descendants of the Ithna-'ashari Imam 'Alî Ridâ, while in the next fragment quite a different genealogy is given. Şadru'd-dîn is confounded with Sat Gur Nûr of Nawsari, etc. No dates, no history. Apparently this work is summed up and made the basis of the account which is given in the modern work, *Ta'rikhi Burhānpûr* (see further on).

The second fragment is just over two pages, and contains the beginning of the genealogy of the line, not from 'Alî Ridâ, but from Imam Ismâ'il, whose name, however, is omitted, together with the name of his son and successor, Muḥammad. These perversions, as also those in the preceding fragment, show that these works were intended for the general public, and that the author tried his best to dissociate himself and his ancestors from all connection with Ismailism by suppressing some facts and names in the sectarian tradition, which were scarcely known outside the sect.

It is difficult to find whether there were any other works composed by the leaders of the Imam-Shahis, and dealing with historical matters. But, according to the *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb*, one of the descendants of Imam Shah, known as Barâ Miyâ (Sayyid Badru'd-dîn), who flourished in the beginning of the XIXth century, had arranged that a history of the sect should be written, apparently in Persian, under the title of the *Malfûzi Imâmu'd-dîn*, i.e. "Sayings of Imâm Shâh." This work was chiefly based on oral tradition, and various "Hindi" books that were available (most probably the *Satveni*). It is not clear why it was called "*Malfûz*," and what relation it had to Imam Shah, because its narrative is brought down to the time of Barâ Miyâ himself. It is not certain whether copies of this work still exist.

Apparently soon after this, i.e. in the early years of the XIXth century, another work was composed, dealing with some saints, most probably the pîrs of the sect. It has the title *Jawâhiru'l-awliyâ*,

and its author is Qâdî¹ Raḥmatu'l-lâh b. Ghulâm Muṣṭafâ, of Aḥmadâbâd. Here it is again doubtful whether copies of this work exist. It is merely referred to on a few occasions in the *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb*, a later work of the same author.

This work, with the full title *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb wa basâtînu'l-aḥbâb*, was apparently compiled soon after 1237/1822, probably also under the patronage of the same Sayyid Barâ Miyâ, who is profusely eulogised here. The reasons of his interest in the history of his sect were by no means Platonic. There were serious doubts as to the genuineness of his genealogy, and thus of his claims to the headship of the community. Probably in order to give the book a larger circulation, by making it appeal to a wider circle of readers, many matters dealing with the history of Gujrat, its Sufic and other saints, etc., were added.

The work, is a large volume of over 730 pages,² and is composed in a fairly clear, though provincial Persian. It opens with a short doxology and a short preface in which the author explains the purpose of his work, which is to give a history of the sect, and biographies of different saints of Gujrat. Then he proceeds with laudatory accounts of the Prophet, of the twelve Imams of the Ithna-'asharis, and a number of biographies of some famous Sufis of India. Then, on pages 137-315, he narrates the story of the sect of the Imam-Shahis, beginning with the biography of Imam Shah himself. Apparently here the original version had to end, as the author, in the strain of different *khâtîmas*, again mentions the title of the work, and invokes the usual blessings. But probably having changed his mind, he adds almost as much as the earlier portion of his work, discussing various subjects: a short history of Gujrat, from the earliest times, and its kings (mostly, as he

¹ It is doubtful whether the author was particularly learned; his surname *qâdî* would not necessarily imply his being a judge. It is quite possible that he descended from a judge's family, and the title *qâdî* was hereditary in it, just as this happens with the title *shaykh*.

² The size of the pages is 9 and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch by 5 and three quarters, 13 lines to a page, three and three quarters of an inch long. Thick hand-made paper; handwriting is bold, not calligraphic, but clearly legible; many orthographical mistakes. Headings in red.

himself mentions, abbreviated from the *Mir'âti Sikandari*, the well-known work of Sikandar b. Muḥammad Manjhû Akbar, who wrote in 1020/1611), and then a long series of biographies of Sufic and other saints of Gujrat, tombs and shrines of Ahmadabad, of its districts, Hindu places of worship, topography of Ahmadabad, various sects which are found there, etc. All this is almost verbatim taken from the *khâtima* of the well-known history of Gujrat, the *Mir'âti Ahmadi*, by 'Alî Muḥammad Khân who has begun it in 1161/1748, and completed in 1174/1761.¹ The author followed his original so slavishly that in some places he refers to 1173/1759 as the year current at the time of his writing, which, in reality, was the year in which 'Alî Muḥammad, the author of the *Mir'âti Ahmadi*, was writing.

It appears that the author never refers to other early works on the history of Gujrat, such as the *Ma'âthiri Maḥmûd-Shâhi*, by 'Abdu'l-Karîm (ca. 890/1485);² or *Ta'rikhi Abû Turâb Walî* (ca. 995/1587);³ or *Ta'rikhi Gujrat*, by Sayyid Maḥmûd b. Munawwari'l-Mulk (ca. 980/1573),⁴ etc. It is also strange that he probably knew nothing about the work which is specially devoted to the biographies of the Sufic and other saints who flourished in Gujrat, namely the *Gulzâri abrâr*, by Muḥammad Ghawthî b. Ḥasan b. Mûsâ Shattârî, who completed it soon after 1022/1613, and dedicated it to Jahângîr.⁵

The copy of the *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb*, which I had a chance to peruse due to the courtesy of Sayyid Şadru'd-dîn who is in charge of the dargâh of Pîr Sat Gor Nûr at Nawsari, apparently is unique.

¹ It was repeatedly lithographed; the latest, printed edition, forming vol. xxxiii of the Gaekwad Oriental Series, is still incomplete, and not free from mistakes.

² See about it C. Rieu, *The Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum*, III, 996.

³ See *ibid.*, III, 997.

⁴ See E. Sachau and H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, etc., MSS in the Bodleian Library*, No. 271.

⁵ See W. Ivanow, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the (old) collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. I, 1924), No. 259, where a complete list of biographies given in the work is offered. There is another copy of the same work in the Hyderabad State library; it is not as old as the Calcutta copy.

It may therefore be added here that its orthography has many peculiarities which considerably affect the spelling of the proper names found in it. This especially applies to the passion for nasalisation which the author,—or perhaps the scribe,—displays, by writing *shumân*, *Mawlânân*, *Bhrânj*, etc., for *shumâ*, *Mawlânâ*, *Bharûch*, etc. But not content with this, he almost always adds an initial *n* to the forms of the Substantive verb when they follow such nasalized long *â*, as in ...*shumân nast*... for ...*shumâ ast*, etc. But he always writes *chunî* for *chunîn*.

During a tour in Northern India in November 1935, visiting several shrines of the ancient *pîrs* of the sect, I found yet another Manuscript, in Urdu, in possession of the *mutawallî* of the shrine of Pîr Ḥasan Kabîrû'd-dîn, situated within about a mile's distance from the ancient town of Uchh (now in Bahawalpur State). It is a kind of a notebook which contains the genealogy and some stories about the miracles performed by different early *pîrs*. The owner simply called it the *Shajara*, i.e. "genealogical tree." A slightly different copy of apparently the same work was also shown to me at the shrine of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, some fifteen miles further South.¹ Apparently yet another copy belongs to the *mutawallî* of the shrine of Shamsî Tabrîz, in Multan, but I had no chance of seeing it.

The *Shajara* is chiefly devoted to the genealogy of the Sayyids who own the shrines, and regard the early saints as their own ancestors. About these they have the most fantastic stories of their miracles, and only very few dates which for the most part are utterly unreliable. It is quite obvious therefore that the *Shajara* was compiled at a late period, and probably contains little or no original information.

2. History of the Sect.

Having given an account of the sources of information about the sect, we may try to arrange here systematically the materials which are so far available.

¹ In the copy which I saw in the shrine of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, the author of the *Shajara* calls himself Fayḍ Muḥammad, *maddâḥi jinâbi Amîrû'l-mu'mînîn 'alay-ḥî's-salâm*, son of the late Khwâja Amîr Muḥammad, a descendant of Khwâja Anṣârî. It is possible that he was in reality not the author, but merely a copyist, who later on added some material from himself.

According to the tradition preserved by the Khoja community, who represent the parent sect from which the Imam-Shahis seceded in the beginning of the XVIth c., the movement was started in the XIVth c. by several Ismaili missionaries who came from Persia soon after the fall of the stronghold of Alamut (654/1256). The learned and wise missionaries, coming to India, first of all took up the study of the local languages, Sanskrit, and the literature of Hinduism, which they mastered perfectly. By judicious combination of the tenets of Hinduism with those of Islam, they paved the road to the latter, facilitating the conversion of a great many Hindus. They expounded their teachings after Hindu models and standards, in versified sermons, written in *ślokas*, in different local dialects. Such hymns, or versified didactic or ecstatic treatises, were called *gnans*, from Sanskrit *jñanam*, knowledge. They vary in their contents from almost pure Sufism to pure Hinduism. It is generally accepted that in the earliest times they were not written, but simply committed to memory by the faithful; it was only much later that they were written down in Sindhi (Khojki) characters. Many of them are in old Sindhi, but there are also many in old Panjabi, Hindi, Gujrati, and in mixed patois. Sometimes one and the same *gnan* would contain separate verses, or even sentences, in different dialects. Their grammar is often irregular, and the metre faulty.

An analysis of the doctrine and of various historical indications may suggest a certain amount of scepticism about this theory of the origin of the sect as narrated by this tradition. But the question is far too complex to be raised here. It may therefore be postponed till some other occasion. *Satveni-ji Vel* is the earliest of the available sectarian sources of historical information; it was composed by Nar Muḥammad, son of Imam Shah, who states that the original ancestor of the *pīrs*, or the heads of the sect, was the great saint of Multan, now popularly known as Shamsi Tabriz, whose grave is still the place of worship. The local ideas about the saint, energetically supported by his supposed descendants, the *mutawallīs* of the shrine, are quite definite: he is the same mysterious darwish who exercised such a great influence upon Jalālu'd-din Rūmī, the author of the great

Mathnawî.¹ Many extraordinary legends are told about him; there is a Hindu temple, about two miles away from his shrine, called Keshupuri, where he has performed the miracle of bringing down the sun from the sky.

The *Satveni-jî Vel* narrates that he was in reality the Ismaili Imam, Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, the last Imam of Alamut. According to historical information, he was a small boy when his father was killed. His reality seems to be indubitable, and it is quite probable that he was successfully hidden, and survived the destruction of his family, residing somewhere in Northern Adharbayjan. The *Satveni* gives (in the 94th "Path") 710/1310 as the date on which he abdicated, appointing his son Qâsim, as an Imam, and himself coming to the Panjab as a *pîr*.² If this Shamsu'd-dîn is the same person, he would have been more than sixty years of age at that time,—scarcely a suitable age at which one would start the extremely difficult and lengthy study of Sanskrit, Indian dialects, Hindu religious matters, etc., and even after this, apparently achieving his object, to have enough time to make many converts. The story of abdication itself is very doubtful. A small but a suspicious detail is the mention of the Panjab, for at that date Multan and the country around it were still regarded as a part of Sindh.

Some Khojas still believe that Shamsu'd-dîn of Multan was the same person as Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, but the Imam-Shahis do not. It seems that there are three principal variants of his genealogy.

¹ This Shamsi Tabriz, according to the earliest biographer of Rumi and his associates, Shamsu'd-dîn Aflâkî (who wrote in 754/1353), was killed in Qoniya, in Asia Minor, in 645/1247, *i.e.*, apparently before the birth of Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the Ismaili Imam. His grave is in Qoniya. It is an interesting fact that in a note on him Nûru'l-lâh Shustarî, in his *Majâlisu'l-mu'minin*, states that he descended from the "Ismaili headmen" (in the VIth *majlis*, p. 291 of the old Persian lithograph: *ki pidar bar pidari â az a'yânî*—or, as in some other copies,—*dâ'iyânî Ismâ'iliyya bûdand*).

² It is quite probable that he really died about this date, 710/1310. Anyhow, the famous Ismaili Persian poet, Nizârî Quhistânî (d. ca. 720/1320) apparently refers to him as his *mamdûh* in some of his poems.

Apparently the earliest version is preserved in the *Shajara*. It is given in a very perverted and corrupt form, but may be corrected with the help of other sources. According to this version, Shamsu'd-dîn was a descendant of Imam Ismâ'il, but belonged to a line quite independent from that of the Persian Ismaili Imams. A correct form of it is given in the *khâtima* of the *Mir'âtî Aḥmadî* (mentioned above), and is orally preserved by the faithful in Pirâna (cf. further). It is as follows :

1. Imâm Ismâ'il b. Ja'far ; 2. Muḥammad b. Ismâ'il ; 3. Ismâ'il II (in different versions also called Imâmu'd-dîn, or Musâfir, or Musâfir ibn Imâmi'd-dîn,—all obviously being his later surnames); 4. Manṣûr,¹ or Muḥammad Manṣûr ; 5. Ghâlib, or Ghâlibu'd-dîn, or Ghâlibdîn (obviously later modifications); 6. 'Abdu'l-Majîd (in the oral tradition—Ṣâdiq); 7. Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (orally simply Muḥammad),—very strange and surprising; 8. Aḥmad Hâdî; 9. Hâshim; 10. Muḥammad; 11. Maḥmûd (orally Mushafar, *sic*); 12. Muḥibbu'd-dîn; 13. Khâliq'u'd-dîn, Khâliqdîn, Khâlid, Khûbdîn, *i.e.* obviously 'Abdu'l-Khâliq, as in the *Mir'âtî*; 14. Mu'min or 'Abdu'l-Mu'min; 15. Islâmu'd-dîn, Islâm Shâh, Salâmu'd-dîn; 16. Ṣalâḥu'd-dîn, or Ṣâliḥdîn, or Ṣâliḥî; 17. Shamsu'd-dîn.²

This gives fifteen generations for about 500 years, or 33 years per generation,—which seems not improbable. The *Shajara* adds that the ancestors of Shamsu'd-dîn were all settled in Sabzawâr.

¹ The best known and authoritative work on genealogy of the descendants of 'Alî, the '*Umdatul-tâlib fi ansâb al 'Alî Ibn Abi Tâlib*', by Aḥmad Ibn 'Inaba (d. ca. 825/1422), cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. A. Lit.*, II, 199, mentions only two of Ismâ'il II's sons, Aḥmad and Muḥammad. It is possible that the second of them really had the surname Manṣûr. But further on there is no likeness between both these lines. Such names as Ghâlib, Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, etc., appear quite strange for that period, and most probably are the result of various mistakes and confusion in the old MSS, even if they are genuine.

² The *Shajara* makes a complete mess of this genealogy, and mixes up different names, while omitting others. The same is the case with the modern work, *Baḥr'u'l-ansâb* (lith. Bombay, 1335), II, 139-140. The *Khoja Vratant*, and the *Gulzârê Shams* on the whole coincide quite well, as also the *Tarbiyati du'â*, the Khoja prayer book (in Gujrati).

in the province of Ghaznî, *i.e.* really Isfîzâr, a town South of Herat.¹ It further states that Shamsu'd-dîn himself was born in Ghaznî, on the 17th Rajab 560/30-v-1165, *i.e.* about a hundred years before the fall of Alamut. The *Shajara* makes him come to Multan in 598/1201, and permits him to live till 675/1276, thus ascribing him a life of 115 years (the *Satveni* does not give the date of his death).

What may be regarded as a later version, is the one which is suggested in the *Satveni*. It makes Shamsu'd-dîn of Multan the same person as Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, the Ismaili Imam, the son of Imam Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh of Alamut. As we have seen above, according to this story, he abdicated in favour of his son Qâsim, and came to India as a *pîr*. It is quite easy to see why the author of the *Satveni*, Nar Muḥammad, would prefer this particular version. As will be seen further on, he proclaimed himself an Imam. But according to the most fundamental beliefs of Ismailism an Imam can only be a son of an Imam. As he surely could not pretend to be a son of an Imam, he had to invent a theory of his descent from the line of the Imams, and the coincidence in the names of his ancestor, Shamsu'd-dîn, with the name of Shamsu'd-dîn the Imam, offered an easy opportunity.

The third, apparently the latest version is that which makes Shamsu'd-dîn descend from the seventh Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, Mûsâ Kâzim b. Ja'far. Quite possibly the sect, and its Sayyids, for the purpose of the "protective dissembling" (*taqiyya*), had to represent themselves officially as belonging to the only Shi'ite sect which to some extent was tolerated and left unmolested by the fanatics in this part of the world. Exactly the same thing was going on with the Ismailis of Persia and Central Asia. Such practice of the *taqiyya*, observed for very long periods, made the Ithna-'ashari religion so familiar to many Ismailis that they could sincerely believe that they really belong to it. At present all the descendants of these saints, who are in charge of the shrines, regard

¹ Sam'ânî in his famous dictionary does not mention any of these saints amongst the famous Isfîzâris.

themselves as Ithna-'ashari.¹ This is one of the strangest instances in the history of religions, for the Sayyids, who are the religious leaders of the sect, themselves belong to quite a different religion, which always was, and still is bitterly hostile to the religion of the Imam-Shahis, who are their followers!

At the shrine of Imam Shah himself, at Pirâna, near Ahmadabad, there is on the wall a gold embroidered genealogical tree of the twelve Imams, but the name of Ismâ'il and Muḥammad b. Ismâ'il also figure there. Being asked how the sectarians could at once recognize as the true Imams two mutually excluding lines, they simply tell that so it is, and it is not their business to bother with seeking for the reasons, why and how this should be so.

It is impossible to ascertain which of these three versions of Shamsu'd-dîn's genealogy is correct, or whether any of these is reliable.² But from Shamsu'd-dîn downwards the line is quite clear. He was succeeded by his son Naṣîru'd-dîn, and the latter by his son Shihâbu'd-dîn. Both are regarded as *pîrs*, but nothing at all is known about them. Most probably they occupied the office for only a very short time, and were not remarkable in any way.³

¹ The descent from 'Alî ar-Riḍâ is attributed to Shamsu'd-dîn, the *pîr* of Multan, in the well-known hagiological work, *Akhbârul-akhyâr*, by 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawî (d. ca. 1053/1643); apparently from this book this genealogy was introduced in modern works such as the *Khaṣṣatun-nafis*.

² In the genealogy of Shamsu'd-dîn, as it is preserved orally in Pirâna at present, the surname *Chowt* is given to him, and he is called Shamsi Chowt. Firishta (lith. Nawalkishore edition, II, 336-7), quotes from the *Ta'rikhi Rashidi* of Mirzâ Ḥaydar a passage referring to a missionary of the fifteenth or sixteenth c. in Kashmir, called Shamsu'd-dîni Chowt. He preached the beliefs of the Nûr-Bakhshî sect, apparently a variety of 'Alî-Ilâhism, and obviously was not connected with Shamsu'd-dîn of Multan. In spite of my search I could not ascertain what his surname Chowt meant. In Gujrati *chowt* means a lock of hair at the top of the head, left by Hindus.

³ In the *Ta'rikhi Burhânpûr* (cf. further on) the name of the grandfather of Shamsu'd-dîn is given as Na'îru'd-dîn, and the father as Shihâbu'd-dîn but Ṣadru'd-dîn is made the son of Shams. Most probably this is simply a mistake in the sequence of the names, and Na'îru'd-dîn, whose name should be read Naṣîru'd-dîn, was the son of Shamsu'd-dîn.

The son of the later *pîr*, Şadru'd-dîn, most probably was the real founder of the sect. To him belong many important *gnans* and other works, and they are said to bear traces of high inspiration. Both the *Satveni* and the *Shajara* tell a few miracle stories about him. The first does not give the date of his death. The *Shajara* offers 689/1290 as the date of his birth, and 782/1380, as that of his death, but both dates appear to be unreliable. He is buried about fifteen miles away from Uchh, in Bhawalpur State. There are no inscriptions on his tomb or mausoleum.¹

His son and successor, the third great *Pîr*, Abû Qalandar Hasan Kabîru'd-dîn was born, according to the *Shajara*, in 726/1326, lived exactly 150 lunar years, and died in Uchh in 876/1471. The *Manâzilu'l-aqtâb*, which, curiously, does not give his biography, incidentally gives the date of his death as 875/1470. Not only is such longevity quite remarkable, but it is quite extraordinary that when he died at the age of 150, his son, Imam Shah, was only 19 or even 15 years of age; thus he was born to him when he was about 130 years old. Thus all these dates are made of the same stuff as the miracle stories. The *Satveni* in the 109th Path, gives the date of his death as 853/1449, which seems to be more probable. He is buried within about a mile's distance of Uchh. No inscriptions, except repair records, quite modern, are found on the mausoleum.²

He was succeeded by his brother, Tâju'd-dîn,³ who is recognized as a *Pîr* by the Khojas, but not by the Imam-shahis. Nothing authentic is known about him. He is referred to in the *Satveni*, if this is not a later interpolation.

¹ He is locally known under the name of Hâjî Şadar Shâh. A mela, or fair, is held every year on his 'urs. The nearest village is apparently called Jetur. The place is about 12 or 13 miles from the nearest railway station, Chaudhuri.

² He is locally called Hasan Daryâ. It is interesting that the *Satveni* gives many miracle stories about his, and his father Şadru'd-dîn's journeys to Persia, for visiting (*dîdâr*) the Imâm.

³ He was buried in the village Shahturel, or Jun, in Sindh, not far from the station Talhâr (Badin Railway), district Tandoo Bagho. The date of his death is given in the *Gulzare Shams* as 872/1467. The name Shahturel is also applied to the *pîr* himself.

At the point of the death of *Pîr* Kabîrû'd-dîn Ḥasan the story of Imam Shah begins, and is narrated with many legendary details in the *Manâzilû'l-aqtâb*. But before we proceed any further, it is necessary to introduce a few explanatory remarks which may facilitate the understanding of the narrative.

The dates in the history of the sect usually are very unreliable, confusing, and contradictory. One of the reasons surely must be the absence of reliable records: the date of the event is usually calculated as so many years before, or after the death of so-and-so, or some other remarkable event, and this always is very shaky. Besides, those dates which are given in the Hijri era, are usually transferred into it from the Hindu solar calendar, in quite primitive and inaccurate ways. Thus there is bound to be a great deal of inaccuracy.

It is also necessary to explain the implications of the ambiguous term *pîr*. It means "old," and "old man" in Persian; in early Persian Sufism it was used as an equivalent of the Arabic *shaykh*, i.e. an (old) experienced Sufi, who could guide others. In India it was widely used at the period of the great importance of Sufic organisations.¹

Persian Ismailism had great affinity with Sufism; in some instances Sufic elements probably outweighed the Ismailitic in various doctrines. Apart from this, a certain vagueness of the ideas and irregularities in the observation of the prescribed practices, regarded as permissible to Sufis, always excellently suited all kinds of sectarians who differed in some respects from the orthodox standards.² Therefore it was quite easy that the early Ismaili missionaries and saints appeared to the world at large, to the uninitiated, as Sufic *pîrs*.³ Probably due to continuous use in this

¹ The Gujrati term is *Gur*, i.e. *guru*, really meaning teacher. The word *Sat* in the names such as *Sat Gur Nûr*, etc. means "true,"—*pîri ḥaqîqî*, etc.

² Cf. Firishta, II, 337 (of the Nawalkishore lithograph) in what he narrates about Shamsi Chowt, mentioned above: *dar panâhi tasawwuf gurikhta khûd-râ Sûfî nâm nihâdand*.

³ According to the *Manâzil* the early *pîrs* really were initiated in the Suhrawardî and other *silsilas*. This seems quite probable because Sufic affiliation were so popular at that time that not only the people with special religious interests, but also laymen belonged to one or several of them. Not long ago so it was in Persia, and I personally saw several Ismailis who belonged to the Nî'matû'l-lâhî order. Initiation in a Sufic *silsila* was approximately something like belonging to a Masonic lodge; the religious persuasion did not interfere with this.

sense this term in India has become synonymous with the sectarian religious head, teacher, missionary. It has preserved this meaning even later on. But with the gradual evolution of the community, it became applied to the *hujjat*, the head priest, or a kind of an Ismaili bishop in charge of a see.¹ With the evolution of this latter idea, the *hujjat*=*pîr* began to be regarded more and more as a kind of superhuman being, the one who guides humanity to the knowledge of the Imam. The ancient Indian ideas about the Divinity of the priest who offers sacrifices, etc., probably also helped the idea of the *pîr* to grow in importance almost as great as the idea of Imam himself. In the Hinduistic mentality of the Imam-Shahis the difference between the Imam and the *Pîr* has almost entirely disappeared. *Pîrs* receive exactly the same epithets as those of the Imams, or even God Himself; various miraculous signs and qualities believed to prove the dignity of the Imam are attributed (as in the *Manâzilul-aqtâb*) to the *pîrs*. Thus the alternation of *pîrs* and Imams in the same genealogical line has become quite natural in the eyes of the followers. It must be noted, however, that the term *pîr* is not ordinarily used by the Persian or Central Asian Ismailis in this sense; they would rather, in a mystical sense, apply it to the Imam himself.² In ordinary language the term *pîr* is applied in Central Asia to local village darwish teachers, or *murshids*.

In the original Ismailism *hujjats* were the able, learned priests or missionaries, who, in due course, for their talents, services and abilities, were promoted to the posts of "bishops" of different sees. The office, quite naturally, was never hereditary. But one sees in the sect of the Imam-Shahis that *pîr*ship is hereditary, and that great importance is attached to the direct descent; *pîrs* are appointed to succeed their fathers even when children; their followers swear allegiance to them, etc. All these are developments on Indian soil. They are partly due to Hinduistic ideas, and

¹ The doctrine about the spiritual implications of the office of the *hujjat* is dealt with in detail in the text edited and translated by me in the "Ismailitica" (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII, pp. 1-76).

² Cf. the *Dîwân* of Imâm-Qulî Khâkî Khurâsânî, ed. by W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1933, verses 1434, 1543, etc.

partly, most probably, are supported by economical considerations. In Persia the chief thing was the doctrine preached by the *pīr*; his talents and saintliness would draw crowds of *murīds* to him. When he dies, his grave is respected, and some religious people will even visit it and pray at it; but the grave cannot replace the teacher himself. Quite a different thing happens in India, with its different religious ideas and mentality. Here busy people would care little or nothing for what the saint teaches. All that he says, most probably, would be quite unintelligible to them. They will be quite satisfied with the silliest stories about his "miracles," taking no interest in whether they are true or not. So long as so-and-so has all the appearance of an ascetic, and his reputation, by whatever means, spreads, nobody will bother to question his claims. He *himself* becomes the object of worship so long as he is living. And when he dies, his importance may increase thousandfolds, if the people in charge of his tomb possess sufficient commercial talents.¹ His followers, and also strangers will flock from long distances to attend the fairs on certain anniversaries (*urs*),—a purely Indian custom, which does not exist in Persia. They will bring their cocoanuts, or other offerings of insignificant value, will go through some ceremonies, etc., and then return to their homes with their religious sentiment refreshed at a small cost.

The question of succession, and of recognition of a certain *sajjāda-nishīn*, *makhdūm*, etc., in such cases has great importance,

¹ Those who have not seen with their own eyes how the "grave of a saint" sometimes comes into existence would scarcely believe it. Some ten years ago Calcutta was stirred to excitement one morning when in one of the passages of the principal municipal market, in the centre of the city, a grave was dug, and a "saint" was buried on the spot on which he died, in spite of objections of the authorities. The "saint" was an Indian Christian beggar. But for some reasons his death has caught the fancy of the Muslim mob of petty traders and coolies, who proclaimed him a Muhammadan saint and miracle worker. The situation became so threatening that the authorities even could not well insist on the remains being exhumed and transferred to some cemetery. His grave was ornamented with flowers, etc., some commercially minded people opened shops with sweets, ornaments, etc., nearby; others began to collect money, and visitors began to flock in thousands. With great difficulty the authorities succeeded in putting a stop to all this, and a brick wall was built round the grave.

but really it has nothing to do with religion. It is quite natural that the family of the deceased saint (and saintly ascetics usually have very large families), would eagerly defend their rights to collect in their favour the offerings of the devotees. Very often, as can also be seen from the history of the Imam-Shahi sect, they are the owners of the buildings erected to protect the tombs. The tomb is usually regarded as their joint property. As their head, and official representative, a direct successor of the saint, is appointed. In the cases of dispute the office is snatched up by the most energetic and unscrupulous, and the rightful, but not successful heir may be deprived of his rights. There is not the slightest pretence even to connect the hereditary occupation of the post with anything like ascetic virtues, learning, pious life, etc.

Such is the state of things, as far as can be seen, all over India. It presents many great difficulties. But the case of the Imam-Shahis is especially aggravated by an institution which is apparently quite unique in the practice of the Muhammadan organisations. It is the evil institution of the *kákás*. Originally a *káká* (according to the *Mir'áti Ahmádí*) was the headman of the converted Hindu community, appointed by the *pír*, or his missionary, from amongst his fellow-converts; his duty was to instruct those who were not strong in the religion, to settle their disputes, and, the most important, to collect the religious taxes, which he had to forward to the *pír*. In the Imam-Shahi community all the converts were Hindus. For tactical reasons, and for self protection, many kept their conversion secret. But even those who did not conceal this preferred not to sever their connection with their caste, and were permitted outwardly to comply with the prescriptions of their original religion.

Thus the original *kákás* played an important part as go-betweens, bringing about mutual understanding between the missionaries and their converts, who would follow them only in case they were advised and directed by the *kákás* to do so. Apparently this institution was introduced at an early period not only in petty village communities, but also penetrated into the centre. As narrated by the author of the *Manázil*, who probably is right, the immediate cause of the final legalisation of the position of the *kákás* in the centre were the rivalries and quarrels of the sons of Nar

Muhammad Shâh (the author of the *Satveni*). In order to create an apparatus for more or less impartial distribution of income amongst the different quarreling members of his family after his death, he arranged that the taxes and offerings should be collected by a specially appointed head *kākā*, who would make the distribution, keep up the shrines, etc. He was appointed for life, had to take vow of celibacy, and receive for himself only his food and his clothing. Thus having made him safe from temptation to misappropriate the funds passing through his hands, the Sayyids expected him to work dispassionately, as a kind of a machine. But in reality, as the whole history of the sect shows, the *kākās* proved to be an inexhaustible source of intrigue and misery to the community, which has brought about the complete ruin of the sect.

Keeping all this in mind, we may return now to the history of the Imam-Shahi community.

According to the *Manāzil*, Imâm-Shâh, whose full name was Imâmu'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥîm b. Ḥasan, was born in Uchh either on the 27th Rab. I, or on the 11th Jum. II 856/1452. As shown above, his son Nar Muhammad says that his father, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, died in 853/1449. The difference is small, and it is quite possible that Imam Shah was a small boy when his father died. The *Manāzil* tells that he was 19 or even 15 years of age at that time. It is interesting to note that almost all *pîrs* in his book succeed their fathers at the age either of twelve or fifteen. Qâdi Raḥmatu'l-lâh gives the name of his mother, 'Ârif Khâtûn, and a great deal of purely obstetric details of his birth (which are almost literally repeated further on in connection with the births of many other *pîrs* of this line), intended to indicate the high and supernatural position of the child. As usual, the authority of the long-suffering Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq is made responsible for all this nonsense.

The narrative of the *Manāzil* entirely consists of legends and miracle stories which are scarcely worth repeating, except, perhaps, as an example of their style. Imam Shah, still a young boy, is not in Uchh at the hour of his father's death, but miraculously receives information, and arrives just at the moment when his corpse is carried in procession. He immediately starts demanding

his "share"¹ from his brothers (he had seventeen of them). When they object to such demands, at this most unsuitable moment, the hand of the dead saint comes out of the bier, with a rosary and a piece of sugar, gives it to Imam Shah, and the voice bids him to go to Persia, and to demand his "share" from the "brother" of his father. Imam Shah, still a young boy, immediately starts for Persia, reaches Kirman in 21 days, though there were still no motor cars in use at that time, alights at the house of a certain Ghulâm Muḥammad, a trusted servant of the Shâhi wâlâ-jâh (whom the voice of Kabîru'd-dîn calls Mîr Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy, or 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq b. Imâm Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq). He is received in audience by the latter, and the *ni'mat*, which he was seeking for, is handed over to him. "This is a great mystery," as the author says,—*în sirrî 'st bâtinî*. It is interesting that in his book the author never calls this person an Imam, but usually a *sajjâda-nishîn*, or something in this strain.

Then Imam Shah returns to India, and goes to Gujrat.² All this apparently takes place in one and the same year, 875/1470-1, as can be inferred from the narrative of the *Manâzil*. The independent Muslim dynasty of Gujrat, which ruled over the province between 799/1396 and 980/1572, out of political considerations encouraged Muhammadan missionaries. It seems to be a fact that Imam Shah has come there in the reign of the most prominent king of that dynasty, Shâh Maḥmûdi Bêgrâ (863-917/1458-1511).

¹ It is not clear what kind of "share" (as in the *Satveni*), or "fortune," *ni'mat* (as in the *Manâzil*) he expected. Most probably all these legends, which were put in circulation much later on, when he was already the recognised head of the Gujrati branch, allude to the pîrship. As can be seen from the narrative of the *Manâzil*, the *pîrs* were so regularly succeeded by their youngest sons that it is easy to infer the existence of a firmly established custom. Popular belief apparently extended it back, upon Imam Shah himself, and it is quite possible that his demands for the *ni'mat*, i.e., pîrship after his father, were entirely based, in popular psychology, simply on the fact that he was the youngest son of the deceased.

² According to the *Khoja Vratant*, which does not mention the source of its information, Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn died in 1449 A.D.; Imam Shah came to Gujrat, to Atuna, in 1452; in 1454 he married the daughter of a local Sufic saint, Shâhi 'Âlam,—Nar Muḥammad was born from this union. In 1468 he founded Pîrâna.

Anyhow, the tradition firmly connects both these names. Imam Shah settles at Pīrāna, near the village Girāmth,¹ which still exists, situated about nine miles from Ahmadabad, three miles off the Cambay road ; in some books this place is also called Imāmpūra. At present it is a necropolis of the sect, with only a few families of Sayyids and *kākās* staying there. According to the *Manāzil*, Imam Shah died there on the 27th Ram. 919/18-xi-1513; the *Satveni* gives 926/1520, i.e. again very near to the former work.²

All these legends most probably completely confuse the real events. It may be noted that Imam Shah has himself written an account of his journey to Persia to visit the Imam. How invaluable a document would it have been for the student of Ismailism if only this saint had sanely and sobermindedly described what he has seen, on the lines of his early predecessor, the great Nāṣiri Khusraw, in his most admirable *Safar-nāma*! But this was quite beyond his capacities. His *Jannatpūrī* is a fantastic tale, full of miraculous stuff and vague exaggerations.³ Its contents are to some extent expanded and embellished in the *Satveni* (Path 111 sq.). It is narrated there that seventeen brothers of Imam Shah have refused to give him his "share," and harassed him very much until he left for Gujrat. All seventeen died very soon. The Imam of the time comes to know that now there is only one of the *pīr*'s family left, and he sends a letter to Imam Shah through a certain Chandan Vir, or Ḥaydar Beg.

Nothing is said whether the letter summoned him to Persia, but, anyhow, Imam Shah decided to go there. After 37 days'

1 At present it is officially called Girāmtha, but in different books this difficult word is differently spelt as Girmatha, Gurmatha, etc.

2 Over the entrance door of the shrine of Imam Shah in Pīrāna a small brass plate, or rather a fragment of it, is fixed. In a bad, and apparently quite modern handwriting there is stated that the date of his birth can be found from the word *nuṣrat*, i.e. $50+90+200+400=740/1340-1$, and the date of his death is the end of Rāmāḍān 815/ end of December 1412. The building was repaired and whitewashed in 819/1416 by a certain *kākā*. The date of the death of Imam Shah is given as 815/1412 also on the fly leaf of a (lithographed) copy of the Coran which lies near the tomb.

3 It was printed in Bombay in 1926. There is also a long *ghan*, called *Janāza*, which gives another version of the same story.

journey he comes to the shore either of a river, or of a sea. He entered the sea, and travelled forty days by it. It is thus quite possible, that he really took the usual route which Ismailis used to take on their pilgrimage to Persia, namely the sea route through Hormuz, and later Bandar Abbas which sprang up near it. Unfortunately, Imam Shah has a great aversion to geographical names, and therefore his itinerary remains quite obscure. At last he reaches the *Kahk*, apparently for *Kākhak*, which only means a summer villa or palace, in which probably the Imam resided. Nothing is said as to where it was. The name of Ghulām Muḥammad, referred to in the *Manāzil*, is also mentioned here; he is called a *mukhī*. Imam Shah asks the Imam to permit him to see Paradise (Path 114). This is permitted to him; he goes there, and sees many ancient saints, both Hindu and Muhammadan. With his own grandfather, *Pīr Ṣadru'd-dīn*, he even has a long and instructive interview. Quite obviously, this strange Gujratī *Divina Comedia* was simply a peculiar way of partly explaining eschatological beliefs, and partly, in the form of prophecies of the great saint, interviewed after death, to popularise the general plans and intentions of the missionary activity of the sect. But it may be noted that all this the faithful take quite literally.

Returning from Paradise, and taking leave of the Imam, the saint returns to India, and settles in Gujrat, at *Pīrāna*, in which a *qubba*, or mausoleum, was built. At its foundation was laid a golden brick which Imam Shah has brought with him from Paradise.

Thus, on the whole, it is possible that Imam Shah really visited Persia, and was sent to preach in Gujrat, where he had great success amongst the rural population. It is also quite possible that this happened during the reign of Shāh Maḥmûdi Bêgrā, and that he died some time in the first quarter of the XVIth century. It seems doubtful whether the mausoleum in which he, and his son Nar Muḥammad, are buried is preserved exactly as it was built at his time.¹

¹ As it is at present, it was obviously repaired and rebuilt on so many occasions that its original features must have disappeared long ago. It does not resemble the peculiar Ahmadabadistyle of its Hindu-Muslim architecture, is thickly whitewashed, and has no stone carvings whatever. The building is still further disfigured by the newly made corrugated iron sheds, and other ugly additions.

Imam Shah was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, who is usually called either Nūr Muḥammad, or Nar Muḥammad, which imply his being an Imam.¹ According to the *Manāzil*, he was one year old when his grandfather, Ḥasan Kabīru'd-dīn, died. As Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh gives 875/1470-1 as the date of his death, it must be assumed that Nar Maḥammad was born in 874/1469-70, or about that date, and this, perhaps, is fairly possible.

It is not stated how long after the death of his father he undertook a reform which had very serious consequences. The author of the *Manāzil* tells that a certain Khêṭā, apparently a Hindu convert, was the head of 18.000 converted Hindus. He used to collect the *dasondh*, or '*ushr*', i.e. the religious tax, and send these moneys to Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-dīn. As the latter was probably by this time dead for more than fifty years, it is obvious that his name here stands generally for the head of the Ismaili missionaries in India. The latter, as Raḥmatu'l-lāh says, used to send out of these moneys a certain amount (*chîzî*) to Persia, to the "*sajjâda-nishîn*," i.e. the Ismaili Imam. This is an important circumstance, and must be properly noted. Not only was this practice followed during the time of Imam Shah, but it is clear from this that it was carried on even under Nar Muḥammad himself, at the beginning of his rule. Thus the newly converted community of Gujrat so far remained faithful to their Ismaili Imams, who resided in Persia, and were not regarded as a separate sect.

At present the followers of the Imam-Shahi sect deny their connection with Ismailism, and even maintain that the early *pīrs* had nothing to do with it: they were Ithna-'asharis. With their usual confusion they, at the same time, accept the Ismaili Imams who held office before the split, caused by Nar Muḥammad, who is regarded by them as the last Imam; after him Maḥdî, the 12th Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, concealed somewhere in a well or cave

¹ The term Nar is a Hindu Divine title, and is regarded as a synonyme of Imam. Nūr is apparently an "Islamization" of the former term. Some purists even make it Nūr 'Alī. It may be noted that Hindu terms and names are profusely applied to these *pīrs*. For instance, Imam Shah is called Indra Imāmdīn Kaylasi (i.e. the "Paradisial"), etc.

near Samarra, North of Baghdad, is coming to judge at the End of the World. It is, however, quite obvious from all that was said above that the Ismaili origin of the sect is beyond all doubt.

It is impossible to find anything authentic about the real nature of the activities of Nar Muḥammad. All that is recorded in connection with the split is that he ordered the pious Khêṭâ to hand him in future all funds collected by him, instead of sending them to Sindh. This obviously amounted to the recognition of Nar Muḥammad as an Imam. Khêṭâ flatly refused, a long quarrel, excommunication, etc., resulted, and thus the split was introduced. These early faithful Ismailis apparently were the ancestors of the present Khojas of Gujrat and Kathiawar.¹

The claims of Nar Muḥammad Shâh to be an Imam were apparently carefully prepared by his propaganda. A lot of miraculous stories were invented and circulated. It was said that when Imam Shah visited the Imam, the latter, realizing the hardships which his followers in India had to endure when travelling to visit him, promised the *pîr* that after the death, he, the Imam, would become incarnated in one of his, Imam Shah's, sons, so-to-say for the convenience of the Indian public. There are various "prophecies" in the same strain scattered about in Imam Shah's *gnans*; probably a careful study might help to find whether they are later interpolations. He even promised that when the final Imam arrived in Pîrâna, the stone dome of his mausoleum would become solid gold. The gold brick, brought from Paradise as mentioned above, is probably one of the numerous details of such stories. The authors of the *Satveni* and of the *Manâzil* do not mention the story about the promise of incarnation, probably because it sounded too un-Islamic. But it is widely known now and every follower of Imam-Shah believes in it.

¹ In the *Satveni*, which is attributed to the authorship of Nar Muḥammad, there are references to *Pîr Tâju'd-dîn*, and admonitions to follow him. The names of the Persian Imams are given up to his own time, and do not end with Islâm Shâh. Probably only a careful critical study may solve the question whether all these are a later interpolation, or whether the *Satveni* was really composed by him.

The split, caused by Nar Muḥammad's pretensions, has done incalculable harm to his sect. Instead of being followers of Ismailism, the ancient and highly philosophical branch of Islam, with its great cultural traditions and the mentality of a world religion, they have become nothing but a petty community of "Pīrānawallas," a kind of inferior Hindus, and very doubtful Muslims. Anyhow, orthodox Muslims do not regard them as Muslims, and orthodox Hindus do not regard them as Hindus. Such a position of utter isolation can only be endured in the primitive conditions of village life, illiteracy and ignorance. As soon as the standard of living, education, etc., rise, the followers cease to find satisfaction in the faith of their forefathers, and turn to the religion of the more cultured strata. Thus the sect automatically loses all its cultural elements, and rapidly sinks deeper and deeper, with no prospect of early regeneration. So it is at present, and most probably so it always was in the past.

The *Manāzilul-aqāb* gives 940/1533-4 as the date of the death of Nar Muḥammad. Most probably it is approximately correct. In the *Satveni*, his work, the latest dates which are referred to are 1516 and 1520. He is buried in the same mausoleum as his father in Pīrāna.

According to the *Manāzil*, he had several sons, the two oldest being Jalālu'd-dīn and Muṣṭafā. The author, who writes to defend the point of view of the Âṭhṭhiyā branch of the sect,¹ apparently perverts the sequence and the nature of the events very considerably. According to him Nar Muḥammad had appointed one of his younger sons as his successor, namely Sa'īdu'd-dīn, popularly called Ṣayd-Khān (so his name is written in the *Manāzil*, in which the orthography is not of a high standard. Perhaps it is intended for Sayyid or Sa'īd Khān). At the same time Raḥmatu'l-lāh states that Nar Muḥammad advised him to go away, and to find a *jamā'at*, i.e. to convert a community, for himself. From what is narrated further on it is clear that one of the elder sons remained in Pīrāna as the successor of his father—which one, cannot be determined from this work. Several stories are added

¹ This term comes into general use only about a century later, and will be explained further on.

about cruelty and vileness of Sa'îd Khân's elder brothers, their intrigues and even murderous attacks. The author vaguely states that the party of the "old servants" (*khâdimânî qadîm*), i.e. most probably the whole of the older generation, "remained faithful to the *mazâr*, tomb, of Imam Shah".¹ This expression again and again reappears in the course of the book, and it is not easy to gauge its real implications. It probably does not mean that, disgusted with the quarrels of the Sayyids, the "old servants" refused to follow any of the competing aspirants to pîrship. Most probably adhering only to the chief *kâkâ*, was merely a way to keep outside the quarrels, without giving any preference to the members of any line of the Sayyids.²

From different circumlocutions and occasional slips of the author of the *Manâzilü'l-aqtâb*, one may infer that the shrine most probably remained in charge of the son of Nar Muḥammad, Jalâlu'd-dîn, and his descendants, for quite a long time, at least over a century, and the *pîrs* of the younger, the Âṭḥṭhiyâ line, i.e. that of Sa'îd Khân, were almost always moving about the country.

It is not clear whether Sa'îd Khân was really exiled by his brothers, or was led by his adventurous spirit, but, anyhow, we see him wandering as a missionary, preaching in Surat, Burhanpur, and the towns of the Deccan and Karnatak. He converts Hindus by thousands, of course, and works numerous miracles. Apparently towards the end of his life some changes happened again in Pîrâna, perhaps due to the question of succession arising again on the death of one of his brothers. The author narrates,—as usual on such occasions,—about a deputation arriving to invite him to return to Pîrâna. For some reason he accepts their invitation, and returns. On the 26th Jum. II 980/3-xi-1572 he dies there,

1 *İtâ'ati khâd-hâ ba-ṭarafî mazâri Sayyid Imâmu'd-dîn wa kâkâ'i waqtî ân ḥaḍrat burdand.*

2 It appears that there was a senior line of the *pîrs* which became extinct in 1075/1664-5. The names of the *pîrs* are: Shihâbu'd-dîn, Jalâl Shâh, Murtaḍâ Shâh, and Muḥammad Ashraf. But it is quite possible that the principle of heredity and strict sequence, from father to son, was not always followed. The different branches of the community, without any serious reason would abandon a *pîr*, but later on would flock to him, as appears from this history.

and is buried near his father's grave, in spite of the strong opposition of his relatives. The date of his death, of course, is open to doubt, and can be accepted only as approximate.

He was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Abû Âli Hâshim (*sic*) Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ, who was only 12 or 13 years of age at the time of his father's death.

The author most diplomatically tries to conceal the fact that Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ was not at once recognized by his followers as a *pîr*. He says that the members of the *jamâ'at* decided to postpone swearing allegiance (*bay'at*) to him until the representatives of all castes converted by him, "from far and near," came together. This happens on several occasions in the course of the history of the sect, and is always expressed in approximately the same words.

Most probably, in ordinary language, this means nothing more than he and his party had to carry on a long propaganda before they met with some support. The author even mentions that the *pîr* had to submit to a regular examination by his intending followers, who put him many questions, with the obvious intention of gaining some points to their advantage. Nothing is said here about the *Imâmat* of the saint, as in the case of the preceding *pîrs*, the author being content with attributing to him the degree of *khilâfat*.

The majority of the sect again "remained faithful to the *mazâr*, or tomb, of Imam Shah," which was in charge of the descendants of the senior line. Special mention is made about the intrigues of Nûr Shâh, the son of Muṣṭafâ, the brother of the late Sa'îd Khân. But Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ apparently had a sufficiently strong following to keep inside the Pirâna walls; nothing is said about his missionary excursions. He died the 15th Rajab 1021/11-ix-1612 (approximately).

He was succeeded by his fifteen years old son Abû Muḥammad Hâshim. Apparently the long work of his father (or perhaps some special events in the life of Pirâna) have considerably strengthened the position of his line. Nothing is said about waiting for the followers from "far and near" to come for swearing allegiance to him. Moreover, it is narrated that, seeing that the graves of his father, Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ, and his grandfather, Sa'îd Khân,

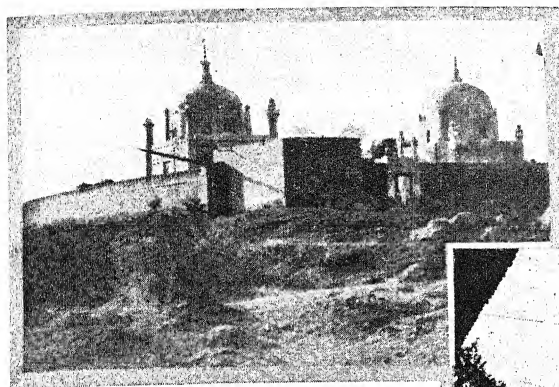
were in a poor condition, he,—most probably some years after his ascension,—decided to erect a decent mausoleum for them, near the shrine of Imam Shâh. Nûr Shâh, mentioned above, who was at that time the official keeper of Imam Shâh's shrine, and his brother Walan Shâh, fiercely objected to this. From words their opposition rose to armed obstruction, and in a pitched battle between the two parties the supporters of Nûr Shâh were defeated; then the mausoleum was built, as well as a residential house, which later on was known under the name of the *ḥuwaykî Râjî Tâhira*.

But inspite of this spectacular success, and the death of Nûr Shâh which happened soon after, the enmity and hatred between the two branches of the sect were going on unabated, and the majority "remained faithful to the tomb of Imâm Shâh" when Sayyid Hâshim died on the 15th Shawwâl 1045/23-iii-1636.

He was succeeded by his twelve years old son Muḥammad who later on became known as Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla Burhân-pûrî. Apparently the term Âthṭhiyâ is now for the first time officially applied to the followers of this line. It means the "party of eight", because the *pîrs* who were successors of Sa'îd Khân were followed by eight different castes and sub-castes. The next party, Sâtiyâs, "the party of seven castes," apparently definitely comes into existence later on; and the last and latest of them are the Panchiyâs, "the party of five". In addition to this there is the party of those "faithful to the tomb of Imâm Shâh", though this seems to be the name for all sorts of dissidents.

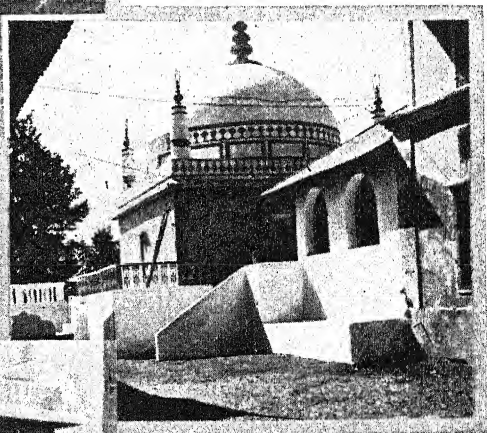
The Sâtiyâs formally become known by this name when they separated from the Âthṭhiyâs by seceding after the death of Muḥammad Shâh, and following his son Bâlâ Muḥammad; and the Panchiyâs are those who followed Meghji Karbharî, the coachman of Râjî Tâhira, the wife of the son of Muḥammad Shâh, Shâhji Mirân Shawa'î.

It may be noted that by the time Muḥammad Shâh has become a *pîr* of the Imam-Shahis, many important changes had taken place in Gujrat. For some time illustrious, but now quite degenerate, the dynasty of the Gujrati kings had fallen (in 980/1572) to Akbar, and the distressed conditions of the province were rapidly improving in consequence. From 1014/1605 it was ruled by

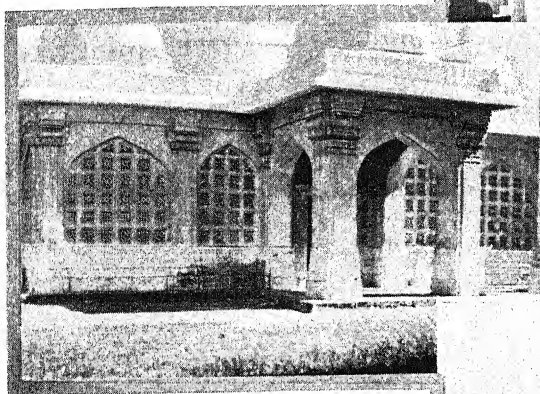


1. The Shrine of Pîr Şadru'd-dîn
near Uchh.

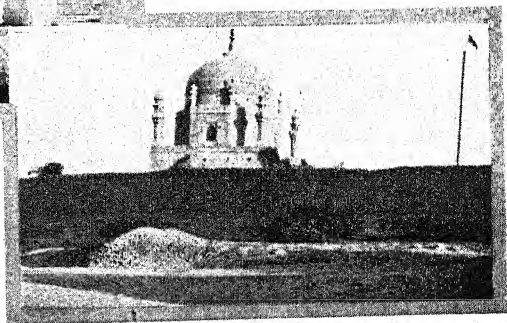
2. The back view of the tomb of Sat
Gur Nîr, Nawsari.

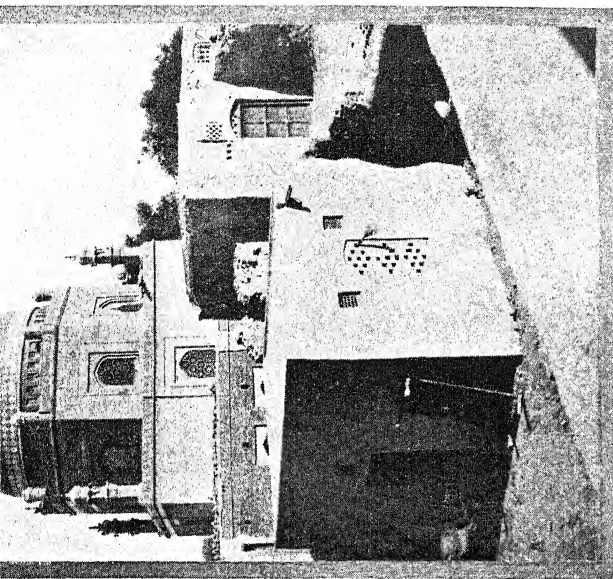
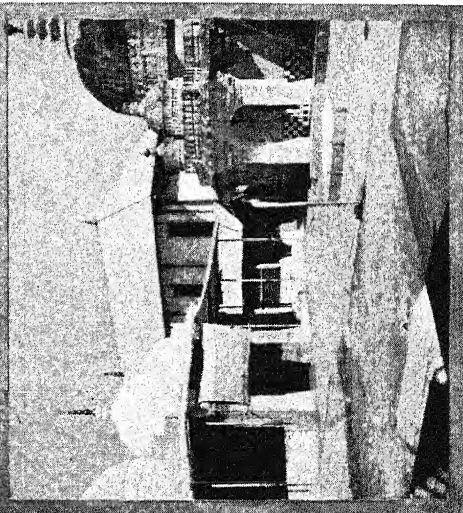
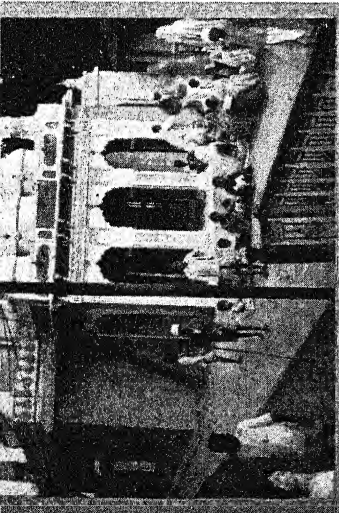


3. The back view of the tomb of
Imam Shah, Pîrâna.



4. The Shrine of Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn,
Uchh.





The Shrine of Shamsi Tabriz in Multan.

- Left :—*1. Front view of the tomb of Sat Gur Nūr in Nawsari.
2. Front view of the tomb of Imām Shāh in Pīrāna.

governors appointed by Jahangir. It seems, however, that in spite of the economic improvements, the position of the sect was not flourishing, and their internal rivalries were as rampant as ever.

An interesting, though rather confused note on the saint, Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla Burhânpûrî, is given in a modern work, in Urdu, the "*Ta'rikhi Burhânpûr*", by Maulvie Muḥammad Khalîlu'r-Raḥmân Burhânpûrî, composed in 1316/1898, and lithographed some fifteen years ago in Burhanpur. The author has compiled his note apparently from oral tradition preserved in Bahâdurpûr, where the grave of Muḥammad Shâh is situated, adding information which he found in some books. His story is therefore quite independent from the Gujrat tradition, presented by the author of the *Manâzil*, and is therefore worth quoting.

It is not clear why Muḥammad Shâh really left Pîrâna, and went to Burhânpûr in Khandesh. The author of the *Manâzil* does not mention any special outbursts of rivalry or enmity between the parties. Judging from the fact that he left his elder son and successor, Shâhjî Mirân, in Pîrâna, his party was probably quite strong. It may be noted that in the beginning of the XVIIth century Burhânpûr was a kind of a capital of Western India. It was a very large and flourishing city, excellently fortified, and its population, including the suburbs and the nearest villages must have been very considerable, judging from the extensive ruins that one sees at present. It was a favourite residence of the members of the royal family, in view of its comparative proximity to Agra.¹

Muḥammad Shâh, on his arrival, for some reasons first settled in a large suburban village, some four or five miles from the city, Bahâdurpûr, where he was buried later on, and where his grave is still the centre of pilgrimage of the Satpanthis of Khandesh. Converting local Hindus, of course in thousands, he later on moved to Burhânpûr itself. Here, on the bank of the river Tapi (as it is called locally, though on the maps and everywhere it is called

¹ As is well known, Mumtâz Maḥall, the wife of Shâhjahân, for whom the famous Tâj Maḥall was built in Agra, died in Burhanpur. The garden where her original grave was situated is still shown on the other bank of the Tapi, opposite the fort.

Tapti), on which the city stands, just under the ancient fort, the ruins of which still exist, he appeared amongst the numerous Hindu temples, of which there are still many, and worked some special miracles which brought him many more converts. He was later on received by the governor of the province, Raḥīm Khān Āsīrī, became one of his intimate friends, and settled in the fort, where he lived with great pomp. He died on the 7th Rajab 1067/21-iv-1657, and was buried in Bahādurpūr, mentioned above.

It may also be useful to give here the substance of the note given in the *Ta'rikhi Burhānpūr* (pp. 195-201), based on different sources of information :

Sayyid Muḥammad Shāhi Dūla was a descendant of *pīr* Na'īru'd-dīn Muḥammad, who in the sixteenth generation descended from Imām 'Alī Riḍā, the son of Imām Mūsā Kāzīm, *i.e.* the eighth Imam of the Ithna-'asharis. His ancestors came from Medina and settled in Lahore, where they converted a great number of Hindus... Their position was not inferior to that of kings... The tomb of Na'īru'd-dīn is in Lahore. His son and successor, Shihābu'd-dīn Muḥammad, settled in a village near the town, and was locally known as Sulṭān Shāh Walī. His son and successor, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad, went to Multan, where he is buried. His son and successor, Muḥammad Ṣadru'd-dīn, was a great miracle worker. He went to Nawsari, near Surat, in Gujrat... (the author obviously confounds him with Sat Gur Nūr, about whom see further on). His son, Sayyid Kabīr(u'd-dīn) Ḥasan *kufīr-shikan* (destroyer of impiety), belonged to the Suhrawardī affiliation of the Sufis. He travelled widely in the world, came to Uchh, and settled there. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, in his hagiological work *Akhhāru'l-akhyār*¹ narrates the same thing. According to him he reached the very old age of 180 years. He worked many miracles, and converted a great number of Hindus to Islam... This work was continued by some of his descendants. It is said that some of his descendants were misled by the temptation of their lower self, and fell into heresy, and this circumstance became the cause of the ruin of their reputation. He, Ḥasan Kabīru'd-dīn, died in 896/1491, and his grave is in Uchh.

¹ Cf. above, note 1 on p. 33.

The author of the *Ta'rikhi Burhānpūr* adds in explanation of these statements of 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq a remark to the effect that this sad lapse really happened amongst the descendants of Kabīru'd-dīn in Gujrat, because they preached the Shi'ite religion. But in Burhānpūr itself, thanks to God, Muḥammad Shāhi Dūla, and his sons and grandsons are all good Sunnis, of the Hanafi school (though, in reality, with Shi'ite leanings).

He resumes the story of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-dīn, who had 18 sons, and appointed the youngest of them, Shāh Imāmu'd-dīn, as his chief *khalīfa*. He went to preach Islam in Gujrat and converted a large number of Hindus. He was born in 740/1339-1340, and died in 851/1447 (as we have seen above, according to this work, Ḥasan died in 896/1491). He appointed as his successor his son Nūr 'Alī Muḥammad Shāh (i.e. Nār Muḥammad), who was also a miracle worker, and converted a great number of Hindus, amongst whom was Nāyā Kākā, who received the name of Naṣīru'd-dīn. He became a great saint. His son and successor was Sa'īdu'd-dīn Nūri Jahān, known as Sayyid Khān. He was a great saint and ascetic, who also converted a great number of Hindus. He composed a treatise in Gujrati, which is called the "Treasure of the mysteries of religious knowledge" (*Khizāna'i asrāri ma'rifat*, perhaps an allusion to the *Satveni*). He died in 900/1495, and was buried in the same mausoleum as Imām Shāh. He was succeeded by his son Ṣāliḥu'd-dīn, who was an incomparable expert in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh*, and a very successful missionary. His grave, in Ahmadabad itself, is much visited by his followers.

He was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥāshim Shāh, who also was a great saint. His son and successor was the saint of Burhānpūr, Muḥammad Shāhi Dūla, who succeeded his father at the age of sixteen. He was always busy with worship of God, praying and fasting, worked many miracles, and slept very little; every day he used to put on a new dress, and distributed the old one to the poor. For this reason he was surnamed *Dūla* (bridegroom).¹ He did much missionary work in Khandesh,

¹ It was explained to me that, according to tradition, he wore not ordinary good clothes, but only those used on festive occasions, such as wedding, etc.

converting "thousands of lakhs" of Hindus... He came to the village Bahâdurpûr near Burhânpûr, spreading his teaching, as far as Nâgpûr and elsewhere. He died on the 26th Rajab 1160 (obviously a mistake for 1060), i.e., the 25th July 1650... His son and successor was Bâqir Shâh, who greatly benefited by his saintliness the peoples of Gujrat, Khandesh, and Berar. His second son, Ghulâm Muḥammad, was in charge of the community in Nâgpûr and other places. The grave of his brother, Sayyidâ Miyâ, is near the city of Burhânpûr, outside of the Râjpûra gate¹... At present (i.e. in 1316/1898?) his descendant in charge of his tomb is Sayyid Shihâbu'd-dîn, son of Imâmu'd-dîn. The information mentioned here was communicated by him (the author adds several names of his sons and close relatives whom he knew).

The end of the note furnishes a key to the strange story of Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla being a Sunnite. Most probably the author being a personal friend of the descendant of the saint and his family, felt himself bound to include a note on his friend's illustrious ancestor. But, as it was rather awkward to include the name of an Ismaili saint in a book devoted to notes concerning the most orthodox saints of the ancient city, he made him a Sunnite also. *Taqiyya* is often practiced by sectarians; but the present *sajjâda-nishîn* and his family really are Sunnites, there is no doubt about this.

Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, was succeeded (in Pîrâna) by his eldest son Abû Muḥammad Shâhî Mîrân, who was born in Pîrâna, and remained there when his father left for Burhânpûr. The author of the *Manâzil* mentions that he miraculously received information about his father's death, and arrived in time to Bahâdurpûr to bury him. In his note on Shâhî Mîrân the author obviously copies what is said about him in the *Mir'âti Ahmadi*, where he is referred to in the narrative of events during the governorship of Shujâ'at Khân, just before 1100/1688-9. Unfortunately, the chronology is here hopelessly confused.

From what is said here it is possible to see that Shâhî Mîrân was a weak sickly man, entirely dominated by his energetic wife,

¹ The author apparently heard nothing about his successor in the centre, Pîrâna, Shâhî Mîrân.

Râjî Tâhira. He hated crowds, and the necessity of appearing before them and accepting their expressions of worship. But, surely because his followers were always insistently taught never to come to see their *pîr* with empty hands, he had to submit to the dictates of custom. And, as it was too much for him, he sat behind a curtain, stretching out one of his feet to be kissed by his followers, coming for the *ziyarat*. The author of the *Manâzil* states that he was born in 1025/1616, and was thus over 35 when he succeeded his father. But such dates are usually quite unreliable, especially in this portion of his work.

It is doubtful whether under the circumstances he could do much for making his sect popular; but, strangely enough, he appears to be more popular than any of his immediate predecessors. Thus it is necessary to assume that the activities of his energetic wife amply compensated for his own lack of energy. As shown above, she even started a separate branch of the sect which was composed of the followers of her Hindu coachman.

Shâhji Mirân came to a tragic end about the beginning of the next century. The policy of intolerance introduced by Aurangzib, who by that time had become the ruling sultan, introduced many changes everywhere. Remote Gujrat, too, was not left alone, and the local governor received orders to summon the aged Sayyid to Dehli. The story of this event is differently narrated by the authors of the *Manâzil*, and the *Mir'âti Ahmadi* (whose account was certainly familiar to the former). According to the *Mir'âti Ahmadi*, certain officials with an armed escort were sent to Pîrâna to bring the Sayyid. The sickly old man refused to go. Then, apparently being dragged by force, he poisoned himself on the way to the city, and died not far from his native Pîrâna, where he was brought back to be buried there. It is quite possible that he died not from poisoning, but from heart failure owing to shock, and this was regarded as the effect of self-poisoning. According to another version, which is accepted by the author of the *Manâzil*, who tactfully mentions nothing about the refusal to go, he was brought to the city of Ahmadabad, and poisoned himself in the house of one of his friends with whom he stayed for the night, to appear next morning before the governor.

The rumours of the tragic death of the old Sayyid spread at once, and produced an immense commotion amongst his followers. Many thousands of the most peaceful peasants, especially those belonging to the caste of Matiya Kanbis, picking whatever arms they could get, began to flock together and move towards Ahmadabad. Arriving opposite the fort of Broach, on the Narbada river, they seized the ferry boats which they found there, crossed the river, slaughtered the weak garrison, and occupied the fort. They then proclaimed the little son of Shâhji Mirân, Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh, as the king of Broach, and for a long time successfully resisted the forces sent against them. Quite considerable armed force was necessary to suppress the insurrection, and to disperse this people. Muḥammad Shâh was seized and sent to Dehli.

The author of the *Mir'âtî Ahmadî* frankly admits that he is not certain about the date of these events, and only knows that this happened during the governorship of Shujâ'at-Khân (cf. p. 324 of the first vol., in the Gaekwad series edition). But the author of the *Manâzil* gives the date of the death of Shâhji Mirân as the 10th Shawwâl 1113/10-iii-1702. Later on, however, he gives the date of the death of the son of Shâhji Mirân as 1110/1698, and this clearly shows that his dates are here hopelessly confused. *The Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. IX, part II, Bombay, 1899), p. 66, referring to these events, gives the date as 1691, i.e. 1103 A.H. Only the *Mir'âtî Ahmadî* is quoted as an authority, but, as we have seen, it really gives no date for the events. It is quite possible, however, that the date 1113, given by the *Manâzil*, is a mistake for 1103/1691-2.

According to the *Mir'âtî Ahmadî* the son and successor of Shâhji Mirân was twelve years of age. The *Manâzil* gives six or seven years. The former mentions nothing about his further career, but the *Manâzil* narrates that he was presented to Aurangzib who sent him to Dawlatabad in the Deccan, where he was educated "with Prince Bahadur Shah." This is rather misleading, since it would appear as if the Prince was also a young boy at that time. In reality he was quite an old man, the governor of the province. Obviously Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh was simply educated at his court, in honourable captivity. The *Manâzil* even mentions the name of his teacher in religious subjects, as Qâdî 'Abdu'l-lâh.

Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh spent twelve years in captivity. All this, of course, may only be as reliable, as the majority of the statements of the author.

Shîvdâs, a devoted follower of Shâhî Mirân, then finds his way to the young *pîr*, comes to Dawlatabad, and serves him. He enters into friendships with different courtiers, and, when Bahadur Shah ascends the throne in 1119/1707, he succeeds in obtaining the release of the Sayyid, and permission for him to return to Pîrâna. As Bahadur Shah ruled only for five years, 1119-1124/1707-1712, the event is easy to date.

The young Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh returns to Pîrâna only to discover that there is not much enthusiasm about his return. It is not clear whether the powerful Râjî Tâhira was his mother. Nevertheless she at once starts arranging for his marriage. The place, however, was entirely in the hands of the *kâkâs*; the Sâtiyâs and the Panchiyâs were in the ascendance, and the Âththiyâ people were not hurrying up with their support. Accustomed to live in the luxury of palaces, he even found no house ready for him, and the general rustic conditions differed widely from what he had been accustomed to.

According to the *Manâzil*, his original intentions were to build a house, to marry, and to stay in Pîrâna. For all this money was required, and he asked the *kâkâs* to supply it. But the *kâkâs* definitely refused. It is difficult to understand the proceedings, unless we admit that possibly either Muḥammad Shâh was not recognized as a *pîr* by the majority, or that on account of the insurrection, and general policy of persecutions, the sect was financially in very shallow water. The young *pîr* threatened to curse and to abandon his people, but the *kâkâs* were adamant. Then Muḥammad Shâh leaves for Burhânpûr, where he has an interview with Bahadur Shah on his visit there. Something like four months later two messengers arrived from Pîrâna with an invitation to him to return there. They expressed their complete submission to him as a *pîr*, whom they were prepared to regard as an almost Divine being, in accordance with their beliefs. But, with regard to money they were not prepared to be more lavish than to the extent of offering him a generous contribution of rupees five only, *per mensem*. Five rupees were really produced

from their pockets, and offered. In his furious indignation the young Sayyid threw them back their money, cursed the messenger and the whole community, and never returned to his native Pîrâna.

He was wandering in different towns of the Deccan, and ultimately lived for some time in Aḥmadnagar, where he died while still quite young. The date 1110/1698 most probably should be read something like 1130/1718.

Shîvdâs, mentioned above, hurried to Pîrâna to carry the sad news, and to inform the followers that the Sayyid has married not long before his death, and that a son was born to him from this marriage, Muḥammad Fâḍil, who was only one year of age, and was the legitimate successor of the deceased. The body of Sayyid Muḥammad Shâh was brought for burial in Pîrâna, but his son remained for twelve years in Aḥmadnagar, where he was brought up under the supervision of Shîvdâs. Later on he was taken to Lâchhpûr, where Shîvdâs carried on propaganda in his name, and lived on tithes collected from new converts.

Again, something had happened in Pîrâna, and the result of such events was the fact that a huge deputation, of some two hundred people, was sent to invite the young *pîr* to come back. The story is very doubtful, and it is quite probable that the author invented it, or at least embellished and grossly exaggerated, as this point is of great importance for what he aims at in his book. It is possible that a party was formed who supported the young *pîr*, or, in other words, Shîvdâs himself. Anyhow, the Sâtiyâs and the Panchiyâs, as mentioned in the *Khoja Vratant*, believe that Fâḍil Shâh was in reality the son of a certain 'Aqîl, who went to Dehli, and succeeded in obtaining a certificate from the Moghul government to the effect that Muḥammad Fâḍil was the legitimate successor of Muḥammad Shâh.

According to the *Manâzil*, Sayyid Muḥammad Fâḍil Shâh was brought to Pîrâna, where he was met with great pomp, and apparently accepted by his alleged grand mother, the aged Râjî Tâhira. The enmity and jealousy between the local *kâkâs* and Shîvdâs burst out with great fury; intrigues and accusations against the newcomers were started, and wild propaganda was carried on against the new *pîr*, who was proclaimed an impostor. Meanwhile

Râjî Tâhira was arranging for his marriage to the daughter of a certain Sayyid Dosâ b. Âchhâ ; in the poisonous atmosphere of hatred, enmity, and intrigues, she died amidst these preparations, and the young man's chances appeared lost. He left Pîrâna, and tried to settle in Nawsari, at the shrine of Sat Gur Nûr, but was unsuccessful in this, and returned to Ahmedabad, where a son was born to him, on the 19th Shawwâl 1140/29-v-1728, and was named Afdal. The author plainly states that the *kâkâs* conspired to poison the young *pîr*, believing that it was impossible to bring about the unity of the sect so long as he was alive.

On the 11th Rab. I 1144/13-ix-1731 another son was born to him, Sayyid Sharîf. The *pîr* by that time gave up all hopes of settling in Pîrâna, and went to Champanîr, where he had a great success in his missionary activities. The governor of the place received him with honour, and even gave him a gift of land. He died there on the 22nd Sha'bân 1159/9-ix-1746, and was succeeded by his younger son, Sayyid Sharîf.

The author of the *Manâzil* does not spare any sign of greatness and miraculous powers to exalt the position of the new *pîr* ; but he really seems to have been an able man. He succeeded where his father failed, namely in strengthening his position, and making possible his return to Pîrâna. This took him about twenty-five years of work, and in or about 1185/1771 he came back to Ahmedabad. The enmity and hostility of the rival parties, though considerably abated, had, however, by no means died out, but now took the form of incessant litigation, which has since never ceased, and is still going on.

Gujrat was passing through hard times owing to the disintegration of the rapidly decaying Moghul empire. Local authorities were not only corrupt, but were also practically powerless. Under the conditions such as these, Sayyid Sharîf, after his return to Pîrâna, soon discovered that his life was not quite safe in this home of intrigue and envy. He tried to settle in Cambay, which is about twenty miles distant from the place, but even his temporary absence brought about some ugly developments. The *kâkâs*, by bribes, as the author says, arranged with the local authorities to seize the ancient historical house of the *pîrs*, the *huwaylîyi Râjî Tâhira*,

built by the grandson of Sa'îd Khân; they pulled it down, selling all that could be sold, and using the material for repairs of their own houses. When news of this act of vandalism, or rather sacrilege, reached the Sayyid, he rushed back, only to find that it was too late. Curses and excommunication followed, and the atmosphere of the holy place remained as tense as ever.

Probably the greatest success of the new *pîr* was achieved by his diplomatical talents, by uniting the Sayyid family against the *kâkâs*. The *mutawallî*, or the chief guardian of the shrine of Imâm Shâh, a direct descendant of the saint, by senior line, of undisputable genealogy, Sayyid Karâmu'l-lâh b. Ja'far, who had no male issue, decided to give his daughter in marriage to the *pîr*. All this was offered under the appropriate "sauce" of miracles, Divinely inspired dreams, etc.; as it was clear to every body, it was tantamount to the recognition of the genuineness of Sayyid Sharîf's claims for *pîr*ship, and of his descent from Imâm Shâh. Moreover, when on the 2nd Rajab 1189/29-viii-1775 a son was born to him from this union, the aged Sayyid Karâmu'l-lâh appointed his infant grandson as his successor in the hereditary office of the guardian of the shrine. To make this quite safe, he even registered his will with the authorities.

This son of Sayyid Sharîf, Badru'd-dîn surnamed Barâ Miyâ, was also a very clever man; he proved this when he succeeded his father on the latter's death in the end of Rajab 1209/about the 20th February 1795.

He continued the policy of his father by gradually reducing the importance of the *kâkâs*, and by preserving good relations with the local authorities. He had done much prozelytising work, and gradually brought under his control the different shrines of the sect outside Pîrâna, especially that of Sat Gur Nûr in Nawsari (in 1237/1821-2).

Here the narrative of the *Manâzilul-aqtâb* ends. The author apparently personally participated in the *pîr*'s excursion to Nawsari.

According to the tradition, Badru'd-dîn died the 7th Jum. II 1243/26-xii-1827, and was succeeded by his son, Bâqir 'Alî. The latter is considered as the last *pîr* by the Âththiyâs. He died most probably in 1251/1835, without leaving any successor, and thus the

ancient line came to an end. It would be interesting to record a correct story of these events.

The necropolis of Pīrāna undoubtedly is an extremely interesting relic of Mediaeval India ; it would really form the most interesting subject of a detailed and critical monograph, giving its historical topography, history, etc. At present it is rapidly declining not only due to the unceasing quarrels and litigation between the rival parties of Sayyids and the *kākās*, but also, in a greater degree, owing to the "modern spirit" in India. This brings rapidly growing religious indifference, political agitation, and aggressive propaganda of various Hindu organisations, especially the Arya Samaj, which draw a great number of the followers of Imām Shāh back to Hinduism, while, on the other side, the Sayyids have neither energy, nor money, nor education to carry on missionary work. Some of them are very learned in their *gnans*, but know nothing besides this.

Before leaving the subject of the history of the sect, it is necessary to add a note on the worship of Sat Gur Nūr, an ancient saint, whose shrine is in Nawsari, not far from Surat, and is visited not only by the followers of the Imām-Shāhī sect, but also by many Parsees.

Students owe a debt of gratitude to the learned guardian of the shrine, Sayyid Ṣadru'd-dīn, who devoted a very detailed monograph to the *Pīr*. His *Tawārīkhi Pīr*, in Gujrati, has already appeared in two parts (1914 and 1935). In it he gives a great number of interesting legends, miracle stories, an account of the history of the sect, some information about the doctrine of the Pīrs, etc. Unfortunately, notwithstanding all this, the student has to start afresh because his book is written from the view point of a pious believer, who never doubts as to the truth of the miracles of the *Pīr*, however strange they may seem to the modern reader.

It must be frankly admitted that we know absolutely nothing about the date at which the *Pīr* settled or died in Nawsari, who he was, and what religion he really preached. There are some well-known *gnans* ascribed to him, but they scarcely contain enough material to permit of an exhaustive answer. According to common belief, faithfully upheld in the *Tawārīkhi Pīr*, the saint was in reality the seventh Imam of the Ismailis, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il.

All that is authentically known about the latter is that he was a very learned man, who, fearing the plots of the Abbasid caliphs, migrated to Persia, where he died, most probably, about the end of the second, or beginning of the third century A.H., *i.e.*, in the first quarter of the IXth c. A.D. The followers of Sat Gur Nûr at present give 487/1094 as the date of his death in Nawsari. Thus he had to live for more than 350 years. The date 487/1094 is also engraved on his tomb (in quite modern writing). In fact, this is the date of the death of the Fatimide caliph of Egypt, al-Mustansîr bi'l-lâh. It is quite possible that for some reason this date became familiar to the local followers of the saint, and was accidentally associated with his death.

There is no doubt that Ismaili missionaries were at work in this part of India under the early Fatimids. Quite possibly there were also Qarmatian missionaries here before them. But while several graves of such ancient missionaries are still known in Cambay, and still revered by the Bohoras, or the Ismailis preserving the Fatimid tradition, they know nothing about Pîr Sat Gur Nûr. It is quite possible therefore that the grave really may contain the remains of a very ancient Ismaili missionary; but it is also possible that he came about the time of Imâm Shâh. Very unfortunately, his mausoleum has been rebuilt and restored so many times that practically no external indications of antiquity of the place are left at present. A visitor can scarcely believe in the extraordinary age claimed for it by its present guardians.

3. *A Summary of the Doctrine of the Sect.*

A detailed and exhaustive study of the doctrine of the sect will only be possible when all the works of the early *pîrs*, on which it is based, had been critically studied. In a short note such as the present it is only possible to mention a few of the principal tenets which may be regarded as the basic ideas on which the whole structure rests.

As mentioned above, the spirit of caste in the life of the converts to the new religion proved much stronger than any other principle. The Hindus converted to the Pîrâna faith remained Hindus, and members of their corresponding castes. This was probably partly due to the general social system of Indian life in the Middle Ages,

or was deliberately left undisturbed by the missionaries. But, anyhow, there was probably little change in the case of the converts' life and psychology after their conversion. Their customs, ideas, ideals, and practically everything except in purely religious sphere, had to be that of the people who surrounded them. The tenets of Islamic origin were chiefly concerned with the inner and intimate life, *i.e.*, with the "soul."

The fundamental principles of Islam, as is well-known, are usually summed up as belief in One God, who has no companions or rivals, and in the mission of His Apostle and Prophet, Muḥammad, who has taught the religion revealed to him by the Deity. If only these principles are concerned, the Imam-Shahis can justly claim to be faithful Muslims because they accept both these beliefs. But further on the matters become much more complex. The form of Islam which was preached by the early *pīrs* was Ismailism, with its rationalistic and Shi'ite tendency. At the same time the *pīrs* also introduced the Sufic spirit which has been absorbed by mediæval Persian Ismailism. Thus, laying stress on the moral and spiritual moments in religious life, the doctrine of the *pīrs* did not attach special importance to the forms of outward piety. This was an asset, and at the same time a danger. Non-insistence on reciting the daily prayers, etc., made conversion of Hindus much easier than it would otherwise have been. But the absence of the outward signs of connection with Islam, especially having regard to the conditions in which the great majority of the converts lived, offered a great possibility to Hinduism to hold them within its fold even after they officially have renounced it. For this reason those converts who remained faithful to the original Ismaili doctrine, the Khojas, as they are called in India after the community to which the majority of them belong, could evolutionize towards purer forms of Islam, gradually giving up their original Hindu psychology and practices. But those who sided with the Imam-Shahi *pīrs* after the split were bound to yield to the continuous pressure of Hinduism, and to shift further and further away from Islam.

The Imam-Shahis believe in One God, the Creator of the world. His idea is the same as in the Coran. But at the same time they admit the theory of incarnation, or avatar. This does not mean

that God, in His greatness, becomes a man, or whatever may be. The idea is approximately the same as in Christian speculations about Jesus Christ. The Divine Light, which is the source of life, order and consciousness of all beings, becomes, so-to-say, focused upon a certain mortal man, who, remaining an ordinary man as far as his body is concerned, is at the same time the bearer of the Divine substance, which is one and the same as that of God Himself; and, as this substance, obviously, is indivisible, and cannot be partly in one place, and partly in another, there must be a complete equation between him and God. All this can only be comprehended by intuition, or creative effort of intellect; the laws of logic are powerless over this.

Such Divine Man, or man participating in the Substance of God, is the Imam, the direct descendant, and rightfully authorised successor of 'Alī ibn Abī Tâlib, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet. As is well-known, the idea of the Imam differs in various Shi'ite sects, and even in different branches of the Ismailis. According to the ideas of the Persian Ismailism from which the Imam-Shahis have taken it, the Imam is the Divinely inspired leader of mankind; there must always be an Imam in the world, which would instantly perish, if the Imam disappears even for a moment.

According to the most fundamental historiosophic theories of Ismailism, the world after its creation has a history which is divided into millennial cycles or periods (*dawr*). At the beginning of each *dawr* God sends a great Prophet, a founder of a new religion, or rather civilisation which develops under the guidance of the Imams, who succeed one after the other. By the end of the *dawr*, when the old religion, most probably, ceases to meet the requirements of the time, God sends another Prophet who cancels the religion of his predecessor, and preaches his own. According to these ideas there have already been six *dawrs*: of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and of Muḥammad. There were Imams during the first five *dawrs*, but their names for the most part are forgotten. In the *dawr* of Muḥammad the first Imam was 'Alī, and he was succeeded by his direct descendants and successors.

This original scheme of the world's history closely resembles the Hindu cosmogonical myths, with their *yugs*, and *avatars*. As it was practised on many occasions in India by many Muḥam-

madan theologians who planned a *rapprochement* with Hinduism, these forgotten pre-historical saints and Imams were quite easily identified with different figures in the Hindu pantheon. Thus Vishnu, or Parmeshvar, is the name of God the Creator, the same as Allah in Muhammadanism. Adam becomes Mahadev, or Shiv, etc.

As is well-known, Hindu cosmogony consists of different myths, which often do not tally one with the other, as they are narrated in the canonical eighteen Puranas. It appears that at first five eternal Prakartis were created, *i.e.*, five elements: earth, water, air, fire, and *akas*, *i.e.*, space or sound carrying ether. Other versions give different names for the elements. The great abstract formative and regulating force, the '*Aql*' of the neo-Platonic philosophy accepted by Ismailism, is here identified with Brahma, to whom Parmeshvar = Vishnu = 'Alī entrusts the Ved, *ma'rīfat*. There are four Veds,—Rigved, Yajurved, Shamved and Atharvved (as their names are pronounced in Gujratī). The latter includes also the Coran, and also Jambul (Zabūr, or Psalms), and Tawrat. But about the latter two exotical books the Pīrāna-wāllās know next to nothing. The Veds are not preserved in their entirety, only fragments exist.

The Coran is thus of Divine origin. The sect accepts the usual Shi'ite belief that originally it was composed of forty *pāras*, but the ordinary copies contain only thirty of these, and the other ten are known only to the Imams.

It would require too much space to give here all the cosmogonical myths of Hinduism which the sect accepts. The reader may find them in the books dealing with Hindu cosmology. The history of the world is divided into four *yugs*, and each of these into several periods during which the Creator manifested himself in a certain form. The first *yug*, Satya, or Kartayug, is divided into four, the second into three, the third into two avatars, and the last, the Kaliyug, contains only one avatar, that of 'Alī. Thus there are ten avatars in all. According to ancient prophecies it was believed that the last, tenth avatar will come in the kingdom of the Mlechh, *i.e.*, foreigners. By the time the early *pīrs* came to India the term *mlechh* had already acquired special meaning,—Muslim. Thus they could easily identify the Imam of the Muslims with the tenth avatar.

The fundamental idea of an avatar is the fight of the Deity against the Arch-enemy who either steals the Ved, or does some other mischief. The unsophisticated people may accept these stories literally, the more sophisticated may seek in them symbolical expression of different moral or philosophical ideas. The Khojas, under the guidance of the Imams, regard the earlier nine as symbolical; but the true Imam-Shahis take them literally.

The first avatar is called Machh, fish, because the Deity accepted this form, and went into the sea in search of the Ved stolen by the Enemy. The next was Kachh, or Korab, tortoise, the shape of which Vishnu took to fight the Enemy in the form of a scorpion; the third is Vara, the boar, fighting the peacock. The fourth—Narsinh, man-lion; the fifth,—Vayaman, or dwarf, who in three and half steps covered the whole world; the sixth is Parsram the Brahman; the seventh—Ram, the hero of the Ramayan; the eighth is Krishna, and the ninth is Buddh, a sort of a strange being.

The Arch-enemy will make his appearance, in the form of Kalinga, *i. e.* the Dajjâl, at the end of the world, and the "stainless" (Niklanki, *ma'sûm*) Imam will defeat him. The Imam-Shahis believe that this last and final Imam will be Imam Mahdî, the twelfth Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, who still remains alive in a cave North of Baghdad. It is quite obvious that in their ignorance they have misunderstood the term *Mahdî*, and thus apply it to the Imam of a different line.

It appears that they have given up the fundamental Ismaili principle about the uninterrupted chain of the Imams, and believe into *ghayba*, *i. e.*, the possibility of the world remaining without the Imam. Moreover, they accept the possibility of the transfer of Imamate from an Imam to a person who is not his own son; this is absolutely against the Ismaili principles. Their ideas about the *pîr*, or the head missionary of the sect, fall little short of those about the Imam.

It is interesting that some Imam-Shahis assure us that there are only forty Imams; other members of the sect take only thirty-six. It is remarkable that they omit some of the Imams who are accepted by the Nizaris in general. Thus they omit Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, the last Imam of Alamut, and take after him: Shamsu'd-dîn, Qâsim Shâh, Islâm Shâh, then the son of Imâm-Shâh,—

Nar Muḥammad Shâh; then a certain Shihâbu'd-dîn, then Jalâl Shâh, then Murtaḍâ Shâh, and Muḥammad Ashraf, who died in Dehli in 1075/1664-5, in the time of Aurangzib. It is quite probable, however, that the saints after Nar Muḥammad are simply *pîrs*, representing the senior line of the guardians of Pîrâna. Another version which I noted in Pîrâna equally omits Ruknu'd-dîn, but after Islâm Shâh gives Nûr 'Alî, then Imâm Shâh, then Nar Muḥammad Shâh, and then the four last Imams of the preceding line. As usual, there is a great confusion in the names of the earlier Imams, and even their number; thus one and the same genealogy may be regarded by them as containing either 40 or 36 names.

The evolution of the *pîr*, as mentioned in the preceding section, was largely prepared by the Hinduistic theories deifying the priest who offers the sacrifice, the Brahman, etc. In reality, of course, the chief cause was the peculiar Hindu thirst for deification and worship of all sorts of gurus, mahatmas, etc., whether genuine or not, which has already been referred to above.

These are the basic ideas about God and His manifestations. Now, taking the second part of the Muslim *kalima*, or creed, about the Prophet, it is necessary to note that in the course of speculations the difference between him, the Imams, and the *Pîrs* has entirely vanished. The Prophet is called *Pîr*, or *Gur*; there are, in fact, *pîrs* of different ranks. He, his son-in-law 'Alî, his daughter Fâtîma, and both his grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the *Panj-tan*, are also regarded as Divine beings. Fâtîma is usually identified with some female deities of the Hindu Olympus.

The Divine revelation, the Coran, is accepted. As in Ismailism, it is allegorically interpreted by the Imam and the persons who are authorised by the latter. This method of *ta'wîl*, as it is called in Arabic, is here called *alankar*. Such *ta'wîl*, or *alankar*, explanations are found in the large literature of the *gnans* and other works of the ancient *pîrs*, about which much is said above. These, in reality, constitute the principal contents of the religious knowledge of their priests, who rarely possess enough knowledge to refer directly to the Coran itself. Many of them, especially the *kâkâs* or *mukhis* from amongst the Hindus usually do not know the Arabic alphabet.

The religion which is based on the *gnans*, as far as I could ascertain from others, without being in position to read the original

works of the ancient *pîrs*, much more resembles popular Sufism rather than Ismailism. The prayers contain some familiar Arabic formulas, to which are added different appeals, etc., of the type of Sufic *dhikrs*. But regular Islamic *namâz* is never performed by the Imam-Shahis (contrary to the Khojas). And on the top come recitations of the *gnans*, Special prayers are recited at *chandhrât*, i.e., the first night on which the new moon becomes visible. There are only very few special holidays, or days of mourning during the Muḥarram memorial days.

To this Islamic religious nucleus are added all sorts of the original Hindu taboos, customs, restrictions, prejudices, etc., etc., of which Hindu life is so full. The Imam-Shahis are strict vegetarians, and have thousands of local, caste, season, etc., observances and customs to follow. Generally, they do not fast, but only when the new moon becomes visible for the first time on Friday. There are some other special days. Nothing is so remote from the original spirit of Ismailism, with its exceptional sobermindedness, rational outlook, and contempt for all sorts of superstition.

In the moral system, the Hindu ideals of piety, quite naturally, predominate, though Sufic virtues are often emphasised (but probably never attained). Caste, and its customary regulations always dominate all; but the Sufic shifting of the stress upon the inner, spiritual life, appeals to some. The Ismaili ideals about the harmony between the soul and body, and avoidance of every form of exaggeration, unbalanced devotion, etc., are not much in demand. What Muslim theologians call *taghlîd*, or blind following to the established standards and example of leaders, is the rule. It is to some extent supplemented by the *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissembling, and outward complying with the practice of the religion of the hostile majority, as generally permitted by the Shi'ites.

It is interesting to quote the list of sins which completely deprive the sinner from all hope for salvation. They are: 1. *parninda*, or calumny; 2. *âl*, or false and ruinous allegations; 3. *pargaman*, or adultery, rape, etc.; 4. *âp-hatiya*, or suicide; and 5. *bal-hatiya*, or infanticide. This set is really remarkable. Thus infanticide and suicide are mortal sins, but ordinary murder is not. Calumny and false allegations (which seem to be one and the same thing) are great sins, but fraud, robbery, theft, etc., are not.

Great importance is attached to repentance, *tauba*, and sin removing, *lahe-utarni*, which is performed by the village *káká*, or *mukhi*. The sinner comes, bringing four copper coins, an earthen jug, or cup, a tin or brass box, and some frankincense. He confesses that has committed a sin, though he, or she, has no need to explain what it was. The *káká* recites some appropriate prayers, burns the incense, and the sin is gone.

An important religious duty is the payment of the *dasondh*, or tithe (*'ushr*). It is paid to the *káká*, on behalf of the dead saint. The moneys so collected are to be distributed amongst the descendants of the saint. Of late, however, there was much litigation, and the point of view of the *kákás* is that the moneys should be spent in accordance with their own ideas.

In addition to this regular payment, the visitors to the shrine must not come empty-handed, especially on the occasion of the anniversary (*'urs*) of the death of the saint, etc. Formerly valuable presents were brought, but now 99 per cent. of offerings consist of cocoanuts, and cheap foodstuffs. The cocoanuts are usually broken at the shrine, in a special place. Most probably the hairy appearance of the cocoanut was intended to resemble the head of the devotee, symbolically offered to the saint. I do not know whether this idea is implied by the visitors. But it is very interesting that parents bring their infant sons to the shrine, and have their hair shaved before it. This custom was followed even by many Khojas, but they have now discontinued it.

Marriage, inheritance, etc., is regulated by the Hindu customs of the castes to which the devotees belong. The dead are cremated, but the bones which remain are buried. The well-to-do pay quite large sums for permission to bury the bones of their dead in the compound before the shrine of Imam Shah. It is paved with many slabs covered with inscriptions in Gujrati. As far as I could see, there are no really old ones, i.e., more than a hundred years. The *kákás* are supposed to be buried without being cremated.

On the *'urs* occasions special ceremonies are performed, the silver cover of the tomb is washed with milk, annointed with sandal wood paste, etc. So it is the custom at the shrine of Sat Gur Nûr in Nawsari. It is interesting that women, who are otherwise freely admitted to the mausoleum of that saint, cannot be present at this ceremony. All males rush in, so that there is

terrible heat and stench; nevertheless doors are closed and the ceremony goes on for almost the whole of the night.

The salvation which the faithful expect to attain by compliance with all the rules and laws of their religion is pictured in the rather Sufic style of *fanâ fî'l-lâh*, or *baqâ bi'l-lâh*, or, as the sectarians themselves explain in a mixture of Arabic with Gujrati, *asal-mân wasal*, i.e. what should be *al-waṣl ilâ'l-aṣl*, "return to the original source."

Souls (*arwâh*, *atma*) are created by the Creator. Each soul possesses an individuality, and is subject to rebirth. It is reborn in the form of either objects of inorganic life or animal life for one hundred thousand times, until it becomes born in a human form. In this it should be reborn for 84 times,—35 times in the first *yug*, 25 in the second, 16 in the third, and only eight in the fourth. Only those souls are saved which become followers of Imam Shah and his successors when incarnated in a human form. Between rebirths there are periods of waiting. *Mukti*, or *moksha*, salvation, is dissolution in the Deity. Swarg, Paradise, and Nark, Hell, though often figure in their speculations, possess rather symbolic sense.

Though all this is purely Hinduistic, such Islamic ideas as weighing of souls, the "bridge," the Last Day which will last 50,000 years, etc., are also accepted. Angels, and various eschatological figures, such as Burâq, on which the Prophet travelled in the night of Mi'râj, etc., are treated as minor deities.

All this appears very primitive, indeed, if stated in plain and dry language, and the success which the religion had during nearly half a millennium, and by which it still keeps together about two hundred thousand followers, surely could not entirely depend on this. The chief thing that is the real mover and creative element in the religious life of an Imâm-Shâhî is the strange fascination, the majestic pathos, and beauty of its sacred religious poetry, the *gnans*. Its mystical appeal equals, if not exceeds, that exercised by the Coran on Arabic speaking peoples. They are the centre around which the religious life of the sect revolves. Nothing would probably be left of their magic force and fascination if they were translated, especially into a modern European language, just as nothing is left of the majestic beauty of the Coran in a translation. But it seems a great pity that so far the *gnans* remain unknown to the students of Indian antiquity.

ADDENDA.

After this article was set up in type, and paged, I received more information about the independent Eastern branch of the Satpanthi sect, founded by Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, who was referred to above (cf. pp. 48-52). At present the followers of the sect are for the most part agriculturists, and belong to the castes of Kunbis, Rajputs, Gujurs, and Malis, usually speaking Marathi or Hindi; they are found in the districts of Khandesh, Berar, and Nimar. It is said, — most probably quite optimistically,—that there are about twenty thousand of them. The headquarters of the sect is Bahâdûrpûr, a village four miles from Burhanpur, in which, as already mentioned, Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla,—and later on many of his descendants,—are buried. The village is still the residence of the hereditary *pîr*, or *sajjâda-nishîn*. The family of the latter are at present Sunnites.

Muḥammad Shâhi Dûla, as is known, was recognized as a *pîr* by all branches of the Satpanthis, but his son, and the subsequent heads of the branch had only local importance. His son, Muḥammad Bâqir, and grandson, Zaynu'l-'âbidin, were not so remarkable as the son of the latter, "Mahdî Şâhib", as he is usually called, or Muḥammad Madhî, who probably flourished in the beginning of the XII/XVIIIth c. He had no sons, and, on his death, was succeeded by one of his daughters, Faḍlan Begum. The latter was succeeded by her sister, Sultân Begum, who adopted one of her relatives, Jân Şâhib, who succeeded her as a *pîr*. This Jân Şâhib was the son of Shâh-jî Miyâ, son of Imâmu'd-dîn, son of Zaynu'l-'âbidin, and therefore was the son of her cousin. He had a son, Sikandar 'Alî, who succeeded him. But he left no posterity, and was succeeded by his wife, Shâhjahân Begum. The latter adopted as her successor on her death in 1280/1863 her relative, Shihâbu'd-dîn, who was a son of Imâmu'd-dîn, a brother of Jân-Şâhib. Shihâbu'd-dîn, on his death in 1324/1906, was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Ashraf 'Alî Shâh, the present *sajjâda-nishîn* who is about 80 years old. He has already appointed as his successor his son Sayyid Nûr 'Alî Muḥammad Shâh.

There is no fundamental difference in the doctrine of the branch as compared with other branches of the Satpanthis, but

occasionally there are some differences in practices. For instance, the Burhanpuris do not cremate their dead, but bury them. Eating meat is tolerated. The ceremony of removing a sin (*lahe uttarni*) is not practiced, etc. They occasionally go on a pilgrimage to Pîrâna and Nawsari, and regard this as a meritorious act. But they have no *kakas* in the centre (just as in Nawsari). They have the same *gnans* and other religious books, but though they remain in their original languages such as antiquated Sindhi, Gujrati, Panjabi and Hindi, they usually employ the Nagari alphabet, instead of the Gujrati.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SO-CALLED GRECO-BUDDHIST SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE OF GANDHĀRA.

By H. HERAS.

When the first images and carvings of the Gandhāra school reached the hands of the early European scholars working in India, at once they unhesitatingly affirmed that those works of art evidently reflected Greek influence. There has always been a type of European scholar who has seen European influences everywhere. Happily, the type is more uncommon at present than it was in former days. Yet, in fairness, it must be said that the invasion of Alexander the Great through the north-western corner of India, the existence of Greek kingdoms in Afghānistān and the north-western frontier of India and the apparent similarity between some of the works of art of these regions and those of Greece gave some likelihood, if not certainty, to those early opinions.

The archæologist who has most propagated this idea has been Monsieur A. Foucher.¹

When I was in Afghānistān, last year, I visited the northern Buddhistic monasteries of Kakrak, Bāmiyān and Aibak and specially the ruins of the famous Bactres. This city was so famous a Buddhist centre as to receive the name of "little Rājagriha."² It was at the same time the capital of the Greek kingdom of the East. I then imagined that I would enjoy the sight of numerous Greco-Buddhist images, even more beautiful than those I had seen a few days before in the Museums of Lahore and Peshāwar. I suffered a great disappointment when neither in those monasteries, nor in the ancient province of Bactria, which roughly corresponds to the modern province of Afghān Turquestān, could I find a single specimen of that school of art. It is true that according to the testimony of Huien-Tsiang the Buddhists of Bactres belonged to

¹ Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (Paris-London, 1917); *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, (Paris, 1905, 1918-22); *Sculptures Greco-Bouddhiques* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1900); etc.

² Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, 44.

the Hīnayāna school of thought,¹ but it is also recorded by the same Chinese pilgrim that though Hīnayānists, they had images of Buddha in their monasteries.² In any case in the monasteries of Bāmiyan and Kakrak the *bhikkhus* were certainly not Hīnayānists; the images of Buddha were numerous both in sculpture and painting and nothing is found there revealing any Greek influence.

The first specimens of the Greco-Buddhist school of art are found south of the Hindu Kush and the Kōh-i-baba, in the fertile valley that extends south-east of Chārikar. Twelve miles south of this town there lies a vast plain called Bēgram that has been identified, as the site of ancient Kapiśa.³ There, as far as I know, one bas-relief belonging to this school was unearthed by Mons. Foucher. It represents Buddha seated between four persons. The scene may represent, according to Mons. Hackin, either the first visit of Bimbisāra to Buddha or Brahma's and Indra's invitation to preach.⁴ Another carving representing the miracle of Śravastī, found at the same place, and which is now at the Museum of Kābul does not belong to the same school of art.

There is still in Kābul a third bas-relief found at Kapiśa, which has nothing Greek either. It represents Maitreya Bodhisattva between two groups of three each Buddhist devotees. Three of them are Scythians and the other three Afghāns, as their dresses clearly show. (Pl. I, a).

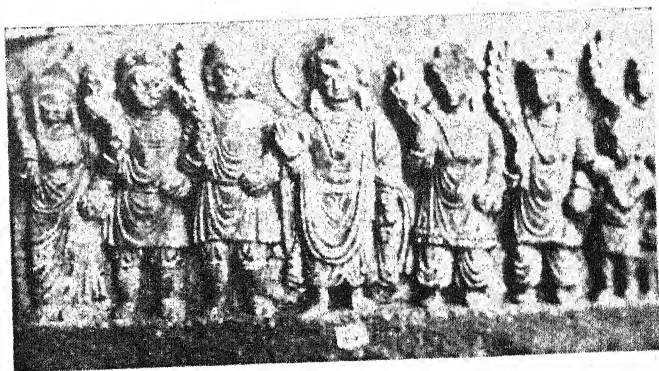
Coming down to Kābul, the specimens of this school are already more frequent. Round an old ruined *stūpa* called Tappai-Kazanah, between the city of Kābul and the mountain Sher Darwaza and very near the Kābul river, the Curator of the Kābul Museum unearthed a number of small stucco heads which every body may recognise as belonging to the Gandhāra school. To the

¹ Beal, *op. cit.* I, p. 44-45.

² *Ibid.*

³ Foucher, *De Kapisi a Pushkaravati*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, p. 342.

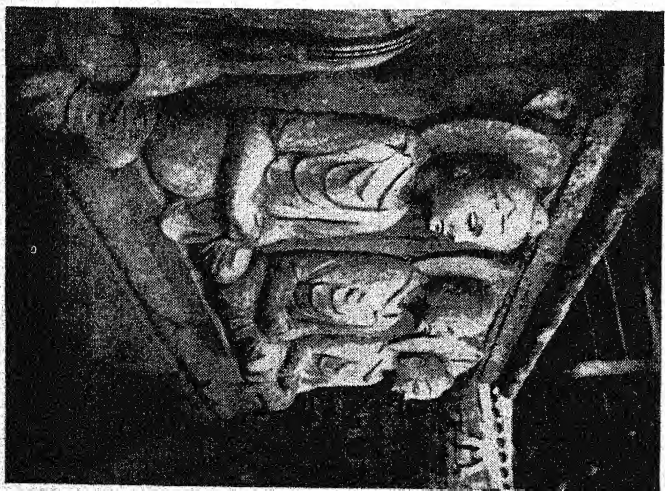
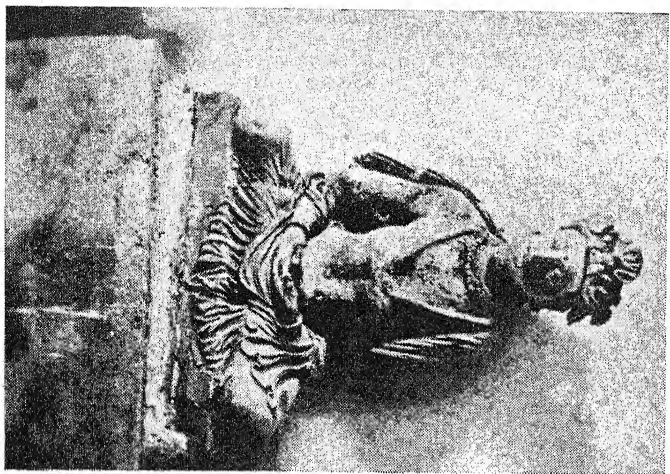
⁴ Hackin, *La Sculptura indienne et tibétanie au Musée Guimet*, pl. XI, (Paris, 1931).



a. Kapiśa. Maitreya Bodhisattva surrounded by devotees
Kābul Museum



b. Uddiśa. Buddha's Great Renunciation



same school belonged the images discovered round the *stūpa* of the Tappa-i-Marandjan along the Peshāwar Road, images which crumbled away a few minutes after they were discovered. One of these images nevertheless was luckily saved and is now housed in the Museum of Kabul. It represents Maitreya Bodhisattva seated in *dhyāna-mudra*. (Pl. II, *a*).

But where the images of the Gandhāra school are really extraordinary, not only on account of their number, but also on account of their beauty, is in the valley of Jalālābād and specially in the small village of Haḍḍa. (Pl. I, *b*). The site of the ancient Nagarahāra, the ancient capital of these districts, has not been so fruitful. The Chinese pilgrim Huien-Tsiang had visited Haḍḍa, then called Hidḍo, and describes some of its monasteries.¹ The French Archæological Delegation has conducted extensive excavations on this spot with the most alluring results. The album containing the photographs of the sculptures found at Haḍḍa has one hundred and twelve plates, 15 × 11 inches, and a total number of 497 photographs.²

After crossing the Khyber Pass the same richness in sculptures of this school is found in the plains of Peshāwar. A great number of them, many from Peshāwar itself, or from the Khyber Pass, others from Shahr-i-Bahlol or from Takht-i-Bahi or from Charsada (the ancient Puṣkalāvati), or from other places, are kept in the Peshāwar Museum.³ Yet when examining the sculptures of the Peshāwar Museum one very easily realizes that the majority of the Peshāwar sculptures are not as beautiful nor as lifelike, as the images of Haḍḍa. There is a deterioration in the art, at least it is a sub-section of the school that never rose to the prominence of the Haḍḍa section. The same may be said of the Taxila images. (Pl. II, *b*). Further deterioration is found in the Museum of Lahore, and in the sculptures proceeding from the Swat Valley. If you go further south-east, the majority of the specimens of the

¹ Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 95-97.

² Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Hadda, III, Figures et figurines, Album photographique*, (Paris, 1930).

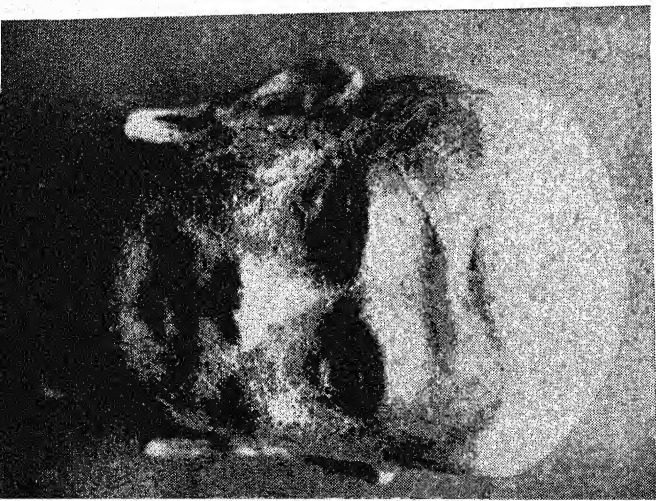
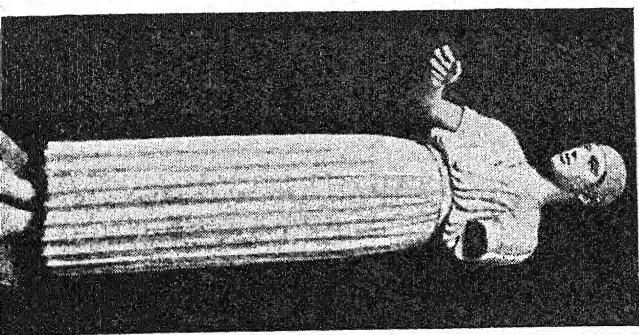
³ Cf. Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, (Calcutta, 1930).

Mathura Museum belonging to this school are but degenerated manifestations of the pure art of Haḍḍa. Hence it is clear that the centre of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra was Haḍḍa, in south-eastern Afghānistān.

It is now time that we should consider the result of these observations from the geographical as well as from the historical point of view.

Geographically the school of Gandhāra is not represented at all north of the Hindu Kush, in the ancient kingdom of Bactria which was the centre of the Greek domains in the East. All the specimens are found south of the Hindu Kush and in the North Western Province, the Punjab and the United Provinces, where the petty Indo-Greek kingdoms of the second and first centuries B.C. flourished.

Now let us consider the same problem from the historical point of view. In what period or in whose reigns were the statues, reliefs and stucco heads of southern Afghānistān and northern India produced? For this we must consult the reports of the early explorers of the stūpas of these regions as well as some of the latest reports of the Archæological Department. The inscription at the foot of the seated image of Buddha found at Bēgram seems to be of the Kuṣāna period, either of the reign of Vīma Kadphises or of Kaniška.¹ As regards the Kābul images all seem to belong to the Kuṣāna period. The coins found inside the stūpa of Tappa-i-Maranjan, which was discovered two years ago, were all of the late Kuṣāna period, when the Kuṣānas of Kābul were practically under the sway of the Sassānian monarchs of Iran. The stūpas that were explored in Kābul and in its neighbourhood by Messrs. Honigberger and Masson during the first half of the 19th century afforded no other coins than those of Kaniška and his immediate successors.² The stūpas



and south-east of the present Jalālābād, gave only coins of some of the late Indo-Greek rulers and of their contemporaries and successors, the hellenized Parthians;¹ while the *stūpas* of Haḍḍa afforded coins of Kaniška, Huviška and some of the Roman Emperors of a previous period.² Of the same date are the monuments of Peshāwar and its surroundings. Many of the specimens of the Peshāwar Museum come from the monastery of Shāhji-ki-Dheri³, that is the monastery endowed by Kaniška, next to which, according to Huiien-Tsiang, he erected a *stūpa* to enshrine some pieces of the begging bowl of Buddha.⁴

In the great Manikyala *stūpa* in Northern Panjab which was explored by General Ventura, coins of Kaniška and Huviška were found together with a gold coin of Yaśovarman of Kanauj and some contemporary Sassānio-Arabian coins of the 8th century A.D. The king of Kanauj seems to have rebuilt the original *stūpa* of King Huviška which after seven centuries was undoubtedly in a ruinous state.⁵ *Stūpa* No. 2 of Manikyala, explored by Gen. Court, gave coins of Kajula Kadphises, Vīma Kadphises and Kaniška together with some Roman *denarii* of the beginning of the first century A.D.⁶ Similarly, *stūpa* No. 15, also explored by Gen. Court, afforded a coin of the Parthian Satrap Zionises and of Kajula Kadphises.⁷ Since the Kuṣānas succeeded the Parthians, we must admit that this *stūpa* was also built during the Kuṣāna period.

We must, therefore, acknowledge that the majority, if not all, of the Buddhist monuments of those centres, where the Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra flourished, were produced during the time of the Great Kuṣānas; and that when the monuments of a place belong to an earlier period, then we do not come across specimens of that school there.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-99.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 105-113.

³ *Report of the A.D. 1908-09*, pp. 38-60.

⁴ Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 98-101.

⁵ Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, II, pp. 159-160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

Yet it may easily happen, it may be objected, that though the rulers under whom that school flourished were not Greek, nevertheless the actual sculptors may have been Greek or descendants from the original Greeks. Quite so; in point of fact we know of at least one Greek descendant who worked as a sculptor during the reign of King Kaniska. His name was Agesilaos and he is styled "the superintendent of works at Kaniska's vihāra for the teachers of the Sarvastivādin school."¹ We know likewise one of his productions which has kept his name and designation after nineteen centuries. It is the casket that contained the relics of Buddha's begging bowl. One might expect that this casket would be a Greco-Indian master-piece, but it is not so. It is an ordinary casket in Indian style and there is nothing in it that might suggest Hellenic workmanship. (Pl. III, a).

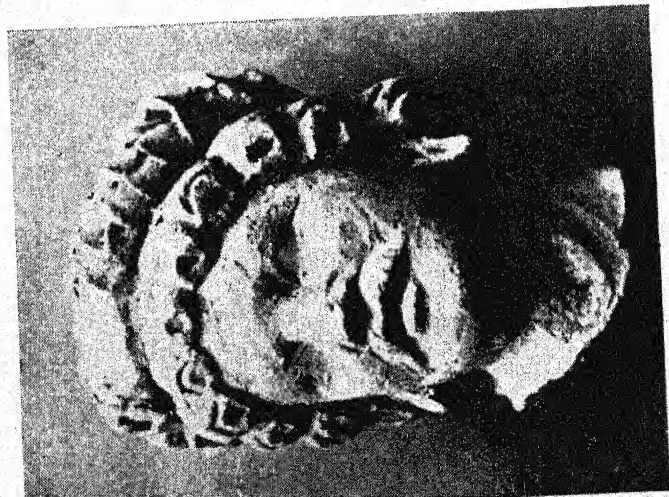
It might still be said that the sculptors employed by the great Kuṣanas though perhaps Indian were influenced by Greek models, which they tried to imitate. Yet these models which could only come from Greece were never found in Afghānistān or in India. The only fruits of real Greek workmanship discovered in Afghānistān and northern India have been a *patera*, a sort of a large cup, on which the triumph of Bacchus is represented² and very numerous coins from Greece itself, from the Seleucian monarchy of Syria and from the Greek kings of Bactria. On all these coins there are busts and symbolic figures executed with marvellous skill and high æsthetic ideals. Yet no art critic will ever seriously think that these small figures and reliefs could have been the cause of such a well defined school of sculpture as the Gandhāra School.

Moreover, if the images of the Gandhāra School are carefully studied, one cannot but realize that the ideals of both schools, the Greek one and that of Gandhāra, are totally different.

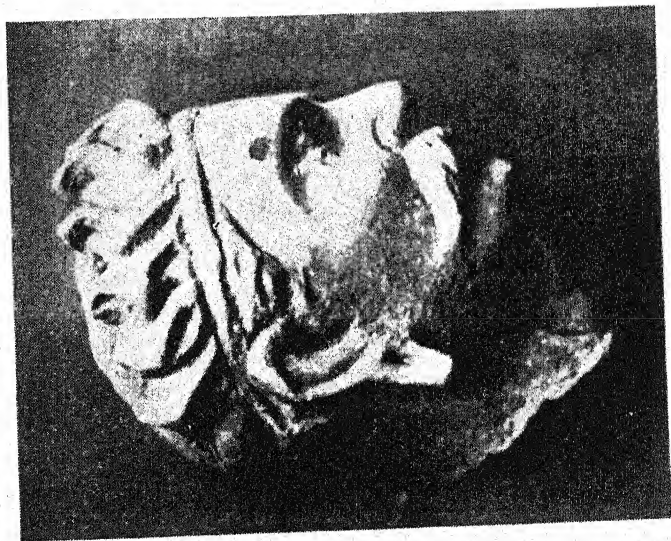
The Greek artists wanted to reproduce the bodily perfection of man, not as was found in the real world, but according to an

¹ Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, p. 47, footnote.

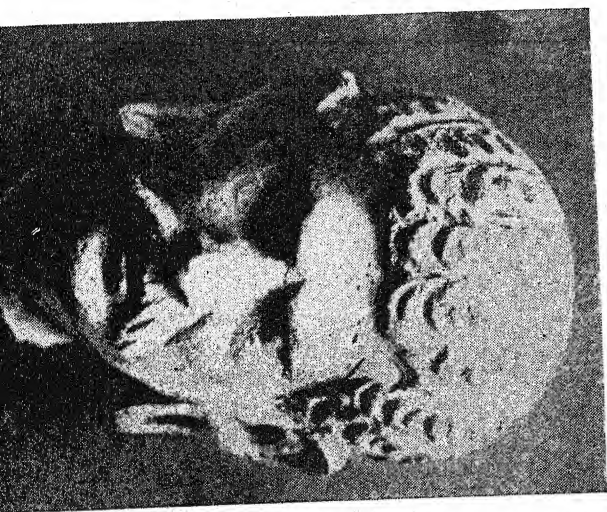
² Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 360, pl. LXXVI (Oxford, 1911).



Hadḡa. Head of a Roman



b. Hadḡa. Head of a Kushāna ruler
Kabul Museum



idealistic type of perfection. A sort of idealized naturalism grew out of this conception. As a consequence of this ideal, Greek portraits are not like the Roman portraits minutely revealing the features of the portrayed person, but they are rather ideal portraits, they represent the heroes as they ought to be rather than as they were. Thus when Lysippus set out to carve the portrait of Alexander the Great, he did not reproduce his features as an ordinary sculptor would do; he represented him as the last descendent of a race of heroes, being ready to conquer the world (Pl. III, b). That was the reason why Plutarch wrote the following anecdote in his life of Alexander:

"When Lysippus first made a portrait of Alexander with his countenance uplifted to heaven, just as Alexander was wont to gaze with his neck gently inclined to one side, some one wrote the following note in an appropriate epigram:

"The man of bronze is as one that looks on Zeus, and will address him thus: 'O Zeus, I place earth beneath my feet, do thou rule Olympus.'"

"For this reason Alexander gave orders that only Lysippus should make portraits of him, since he alone, as it would seem, truly revealed his nature in bronze and portrayed his courage in visible form, while others in their anxiety to reproduce the bend of the neck, and the melting look of the eyes, failed to preserve his masculine and leonine aspect."¹

The second consequence of this original idealism of Greek sculpture is that the statues are really beautiful in their proportions, in their physical perfection, in their pose; but in spite of that the majority of their statues, even those that are in a dynamic pose, are lifeless. Because the really ideal man does not live in this world; he is only in the artist's mind; he is dead. (Pl. IV, a).

Moreover, the Greek sculptors did not want to spoil the ideal man by the addition of ornaments. Even when the statues are not nude, the garb is very plain, and the headgear is very simple. The Tyche of Antioch, now in the Vatican Museum, fully illustrates

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, IV.

this principle. A simple crown—a reproduction of the walls of the city of Antioch—adorns the head of the matron. Her body is covered with a plain tunic. No jewels of any kind will be discovered on this statue.

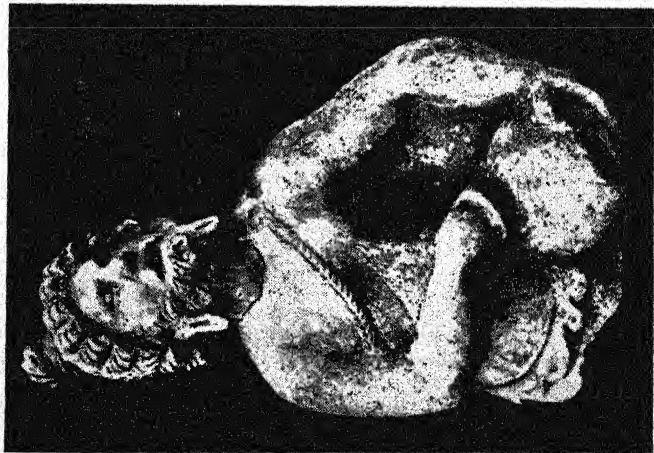
Finally the aim of reproducing the ideal physical beauty of man forbade the Greek artist to represent the purely spiritual side of his character. At most in the later development of the school the physical feeling were reproduced, but never the innermost spiritual affections of the soul. Thus in the famous Laocoon group of the Vatican Museum, you may see the physical sufferings of the miserable father and his two sons, but you cannot discover in their faces the repentance of the soul.

The characteristics of the Gandhāra School of Art are totally different. Certainly it also aims at reproducing the physical beauty of man as one may easily realize while contemplating some statues of Buddha or of some Bodhisattvas; but this physical beauty of man is not represented in an ideal way. So, the images of Buddha or of the Bodhisattvas are shown in the monkish or in the princely garb respectively, not as athletes making a show of their physical development. At most that part of the body which the dress allows to be nude, is manifested in all its physical beauty; but it is evident that this is not the main idea of the artist. So the School of Gandhāra may be called a realistic school, fostering that sort of realism that is opposite to the ideal naturalism of the Greek school.

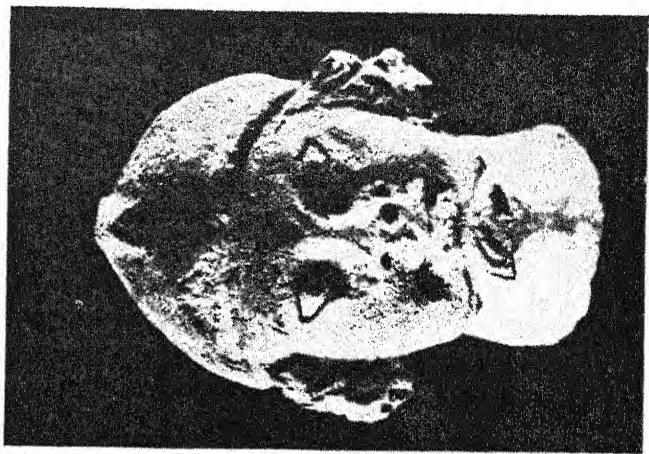
A good example of this vital principle of the Gandhāra school is the image of Buddha's meditation and fast at Gayā, which is now in the Lahore Museum. The artist wanted to show the physical loss produced by that fast in Gautama's body. This is a marvellous study in anatomy, perhaps repulsive on account of its extraordinary realism. A similar specimen had never been produced by a Greek sculptor.¹

Very realistic is also a little fragment of stucco image of the Kābul Museum that represents death. This grim figure of the

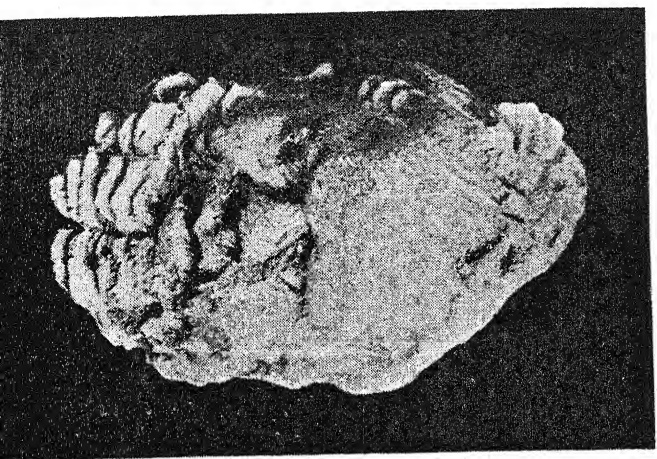
¹ There is another statue similar to this, almost a replica, in the Peshāwar Museum. But, unfortunately, it is broken and mutilated. Cf. Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, pl. 3.



a. Hadda. Brahman holding a *lotu*



b. Hadda. Head of an Iranian



first century A.D. seems to be the forerunner of all these images of death in the famous (dance of death) which is so familiar an argument for the painters of the Middle Ages, a figure which never inspired any Greek sculptor.

One of the consequences of this realism is the truthfulness of the Gandhāra portraits. While going through the magnificent collection of heads recovered from the excavations of Hadda, now housed in the Kābul Museum, one may easily recognise the different types and races that have passed through Afghānistān, some members of which settled there and were portrayed by the artists. Amongst them some are not types of beauty; just the contrary. They are ugly, idiotic, repulsive types. It will be useful to examine some of them.

The first is the portrait of a Buddhist monk, with his head clean shaven, his ascetic look, modest, silent, quiet, the real face of a young Brahman converted to the faith of Gautama. (Pl. IV, b).

Then a Roman with a well trimmed moustache, with curled hair crowned with ivy. He shows his sensuality in his languid eyes and curved mouth; he is a personification of the ordinary type of the Roman of the Empire: proud, but nevertheless showing already the seeds of the imminent ruin, almost at hand. (Pl. V, a).

Now it is a Turk from the far east; one of the Kuṣāna kings, with cunning eyes and well-set jaws, a man of indomitable character, who by the narrow diadem round his scanty hair shows his wish to become hellenized, but remaining always a nomad chief of the hordes of Central Asia. (Pl. V, b).

After this a Scythian, a ferocious Śaka, with cruelty in his eyes and with iron constitution; his narrow forehead reveals his undeveloped mind; his small eyes and minute chin disclose his animal instincts. Yet his well-trimmed and carefully combed hair reflects an interesting side of his repulsive character—childish vanity. (Pl. VI, a).

One of the most beautiful portraits is that of an old Afghān in an angry mood. His head is covered with a plain turban, the end of which is hanging down in front of the left ear. His eyes are

terribly fixed on his enemy and wrinkles appear over his eyebrows. His toothless mouth is slightly open, as if he were contemptuously insulting his opponent. (Pl. VI, *b*).

Here there is a Brahman with his *yajñopavīta* across the chest and with the lota full of water in his hand. The lota is so heavy that though his right hand holds it by the mouth, it is also supported by his left hand. His coiffure is extremely interesting. The knot of hair tied over his head is imitated by some of the modern *sādhus*. (Pl. VII, *a*).

Now it is an Iranian with a characteristic headdress and intelligent look. He is a man of character and decision. (Pl. VII, *b*).

Then a Rajput with a tuft of hair towards the right, a stout man with broad nose and malignant eyes. His beard unmistakably discloses his nationality. (Pl. VIII, *a*).

Then a Chinese with quite a characteristic headdress and slanting eyes also enters this galaxy of portraits. (Pl. VIII, *b*). Numerous Chinese existed in Kābulistān from the time of the last Greek king Hermaios, as his coins with Chinese inscriptions evidently show.¹

A very remarkable portrait is that of a man keeping a short pointed beard and a waving moustache. His small but cunning eyes and his one-horned peculiar cap give him a devilish aspect. If this head were produced in modern times it would be christened "Mephistofeles." (Pl. IX, *b*).

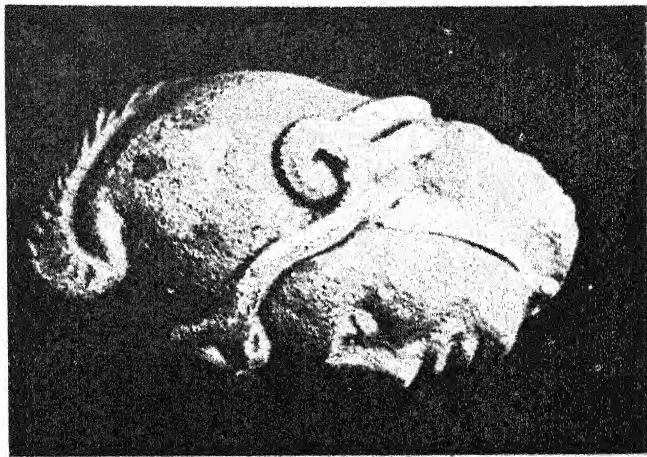
Here is the portrait of a soldier, his head well protected with a beautiful helmet. He is a young man, almost a boy, absolutely hairless. His appearance shows his inexperience in the art of warfare. (Pl. IX, *b*).

The following portrait comes from the village of Shahr-i-Bāhlol, in the Peshāwar plains. It is the head of a Buddhist *bhikkhu*. His dome-like skull suggests a powerfully intellectual brain; his small but vivid eyes manifest the shrewdness of his character; his aquiline nose betrays his tendency to interfere in other people's affairs; finally his well-set lips and chin show an indomitable

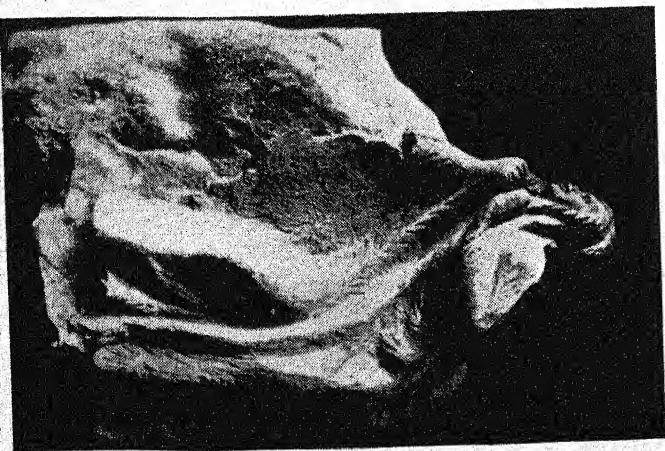
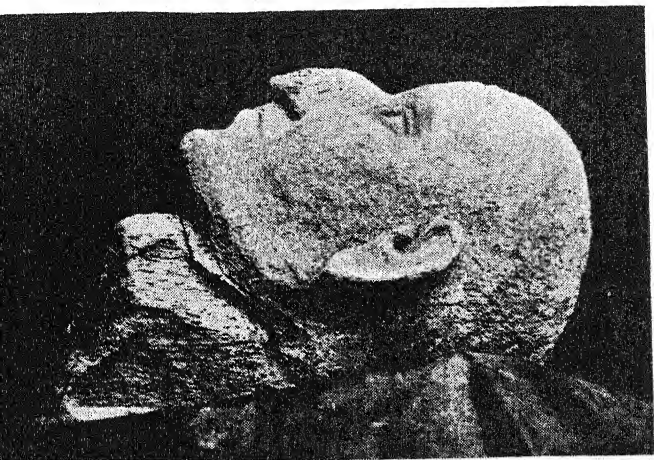
¹ Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, p. 363.



a. Hadda. Head of Melistofeles (?)
Kabul Museum



b. Hadda. Head of a Greek soldier
Kabul Museum



decision to carry out his designs. These features and the traits of character revealed by them give us sufficient grounds to recognise in this portrait a Jew of the north-western frontier of India in the first century of the Christian era.¹ Yet on account of the monkish tonsure we may recognise a Buddhist monk in it. It was therefore a Jew converted to the faith of Buddha who finally joined the *saṅgha*. (Pl. X, a).

This collection of portraits of the first century A.D. will be closed with the likeness of a negro, of undeveloped forehead, flat nose, protruding lips; the characteristics of the negro race are fully embodied in it. This negro, coming from Central Africa, feels the cold weather of Afghānistān and in order to keep himself warm, draws the *postin*, or sheep-skin cloak, over his head, as the peasants of that country do even to-day. Numerous negroes from Africa undoubtedly arrived in Afghānistān as slaves of the rich Roman merchants. But this figure is still more remarkable from the point of view of technique. This relatively tall person, wrapped up in this fur mantle that covers him from head to foot, but adheres to the body in such a way as to allow its form to appear through it; the twisted pose of the body as if revealing an internal, unspeakable, unbearable pain; the very nebulous appearance of the whole figure—left by the artist apparently unfinished, if the head is excepted—remind one of some contemporary works of art, of the statues of Epstein for instance, and one naturally wonders who was the author of this figurine, who foresaw the modern artistic ideals in his inspiring mood eighteen centuries ago.² (Pl. X, b). e/

Due to this realism of the Gandhāra School, its productions are full of life. A single comparison will disclose the difference. In the Lateran Museum there is a beautiful marble statue of a square-shouldered youth called Antinous Vertemnus carrying a bunch of flowers, perhaps as an offering to the temple. (Pl. XI, a). The idea is beautiful, execution is delightful, but if we

1 The existence of Jews in this part of the country is already known to the scholarly world through unmistakable sources.

2 Mons. Hackin, *L'Oeuvre de la Delegation*, pp. 12-13, thinks that this figure is a demon.

dispassionately examine the statue we shall realize that it is only a statue; that youth has no soul, no blood runs through his veins. He is absolutely lifeless. Two years ago a broken plaster figure was discovered at Haḍḍa which may be called an improved replica of the Vatican youth. (Pl. XI, b). The idea is the same, the execution is also excellent, and yet how different are these two productions! In spite of the fragmentary state of the Haḍḍa image, any art critic will prefer this to the Vatican statue, because the Haḍḍa young man is full of life. Moreover the treatment of the hair is much more natural in this figure. The hair of the Vatican Museum statue, beautiful as it is, gives the impression of a wig. The *pallium* that hangs from the shoulders of the Haḍḍa youth and leaves only the chest bare, has a much more æsthetic effect than the loose cloth round the waist of Antinous.

Another specimen of Haḍḍa will reveal in itself the difference between a lifeless limb of the human body and another full of life. Mons. (Pl. XII, a). Barthoux¹ and Mons. Hackin² style this piece of sculpture "a demon." Yet I think it represents one of those fervent Buddhist devotees, who like Sirisaṅghabodhi, king of Ceylon³ or Nāgārjuna⁴ used to offer their head to the Buddha in order to obtain Buddhahood in a future generation. The pious man severs his head by lifting it up from above his shoulders with his two hands. The two portions of the spinal cord protrude in a gruesome way, as if by his pulling it the spine itself were extended and dislocated. The arms are full of life while holding the head tightly and pushing it upwards; but the head is already the head of a dead man: the eyelids are slightly shut just as when a person dies, the skin of the cheeks is falling down in a baggy fashion, forming deep furrows near the eyes and the nose. It is a grim figure, full of life in its very death.

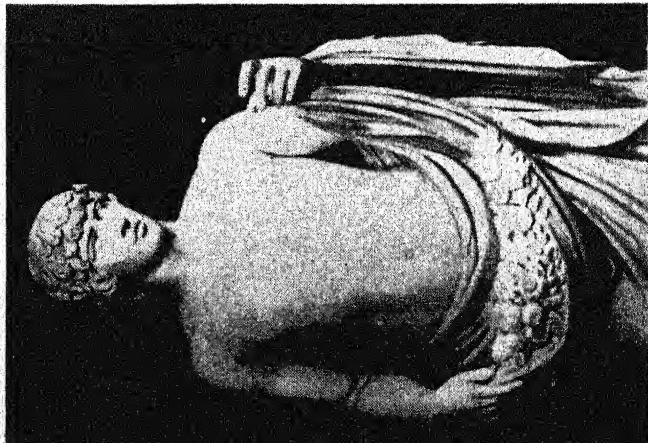
As regards ornamentation the Gandhāra School is also totally different from the Greek school. Oriental Art is always profuse

¹ Barthoux, *op. cit.*, pl. 100, c.

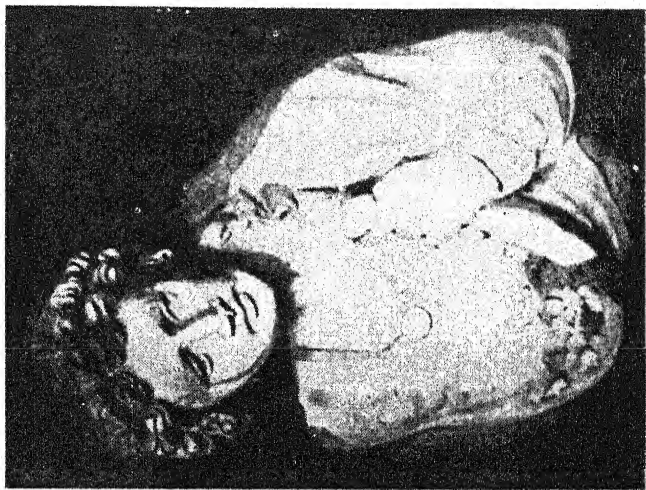
² Hackin, *L'Ouvre de la Delegation Archæologique Française en Afghanistan* (1922-1932) I, Fig. 20.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, LXXXV, 73-77.

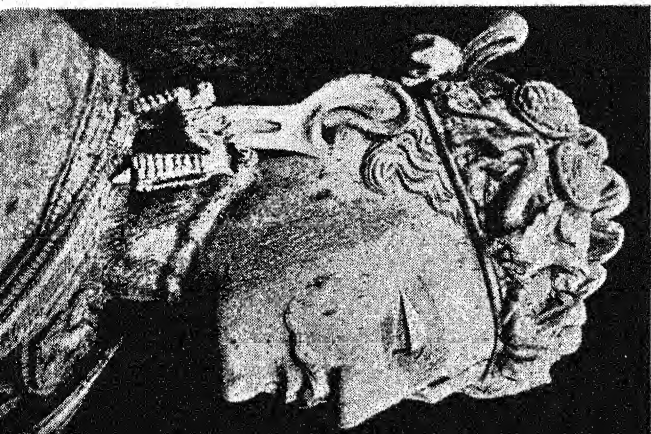
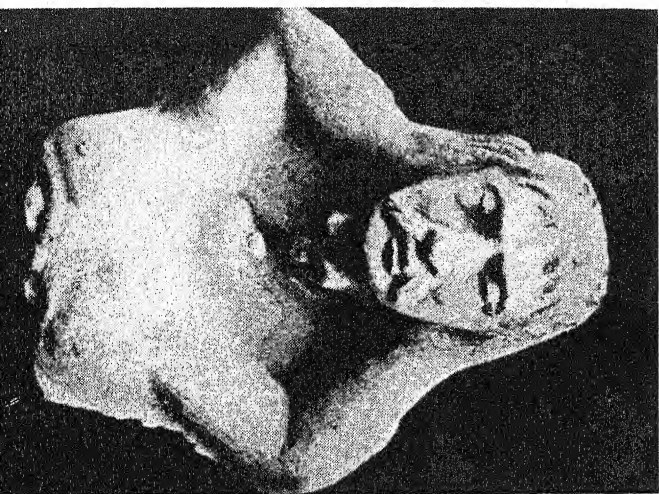
⁴ *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, VII, 7.



a. Antinous Vertumnus
Lateran Museum



b. Hadjda. Young man throwing flowers
Kābul Museum



in ornamentation, and accordingly the taste of the Gandhāra School is far distant from those Attic ideals of beauty of the Greeks. According to them natural beauty does not require any ornament; but the artists of Gandhāra seem to believe that natural beauty is improved if ornamented. This ornamentation is specially seen in the coiffures of practically all the figures excepting the images of Buddha himself who according to his profession of asceticism cannot wear ornaments. There is an impressive head of a Bodhisattva in the Peshāwar Museum that will illustrate this point. (Pl. XII, *b*). Apparently the Bodhisattva is represented as a prince, just as Gautama was at the time of his renunciation according to Buddhist tradition; his crown however is not a plain one, but really oriental, decorated with jewels, flowers, figures of animals and ribbons. Some of these crowns or headgears have a small figure in front (Pl. XXIV, *b*), that seems to be the beginning of the Tantric custom to place on the head of the god the figure of the Buddha whose emanation the god is. This profusion of ornamentation is specially noticed in statues that represent Bodhisattvas which are still complete. One found at Shāhbaz-Garhi, which is now kept in the Musée de Louvre, Paris, is a good specimen of this characteristic of the Gandhāra School. (Pl. XIII, *a*). His garb is not simple at all. His crown is most complicated. His necklaces, and *yajñopavīta* almost cover his nude chest. His arms wear armlets. Rings are seen round his fingers. Heavy ear-rings hang from his ears. Even his sandals are rich and elaborate. And the pedestal itself of the image has not many inches without a figure or a decorative motive. Never could an artist in Greece produce such a statue absolutely Indian in all its traits.

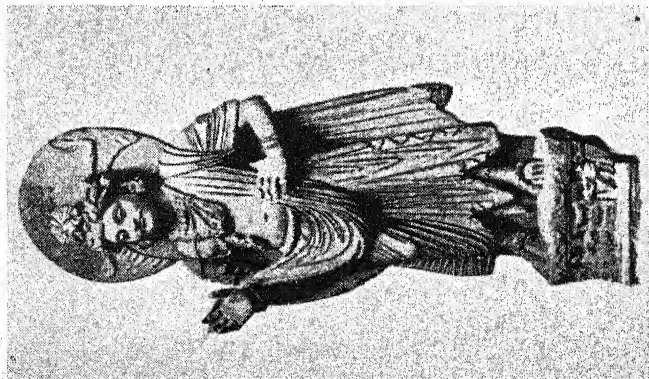
Another fourth difference of the school of Gandhāra from the Greek school, which is also derived from its realism, is that the artists of Gandhāra try to disclose the innermost spiritual affections of the soul: the fervent devotion felt in the practice of contemplation, the spiritual peace enjoyed by those who deny themselves, the contempt of the vanities of the world, etc. Study for instance the heads of the Buddha in *dhyāna mudra* (Pl. XIV, *a*, *b*) and you will discover the affections of the soul through those eyes half shut, through those lips smoothly closed, through the whole

peaceful appearance of the countenance, as if he were in a rapture; and then compare them with some of the heads of Bodhisatvas who have not yet obtained perfection in all the virtues already mastered by the Buddha. In one you will discover vanity, in another you will see anger, in a third you will detect restlessness. Similarly you will find images of *bhikkhus* or *bhikkhunis* full of devotion and compunction, while others show themselves vain and distracted even in the exercise of their religious duties, (Pl. XIII, *b*) or give some proof of the joy of their soul in the religious service. Here a devotee will show the anguish of his soul when lifting up his eyes to the sky petitioning help (Pl. XV, *a*); whilst another will reveal the peace of her soul in the exercise of her devotion. (Pl. XVI, *a*). There another one will disclose his effeminate character; (Pl. XV, *b*) while a girl in spite of the intricacies of her *coiffure* will show herself very modest and almost shy. (Pl. XVI, *b*). Two *upāsakes* (novices) will invite you to meditate on death while pointing to a skull they hold in their left hands. Their youthful faces show in their smile the spiritual fruit of such meditation and how glad are they in their renunciation of the vanity of the world. (Pl. XVII, *a*).

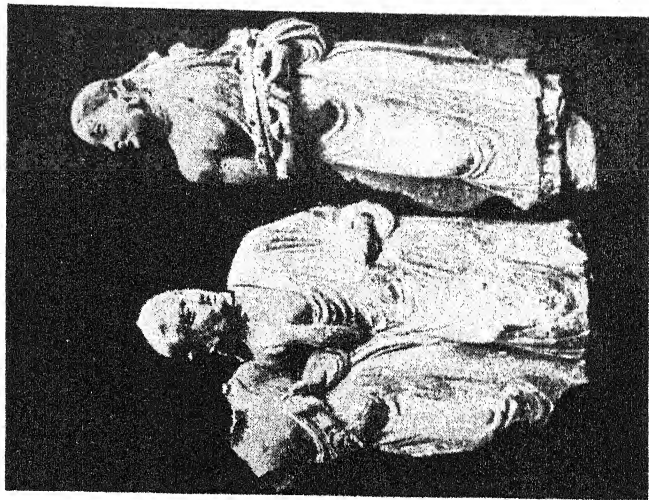
It may still be said that a few of these figures show Greek influence at least in some details, for instance, the treatment of the hair, the profile of some faces, the way of Buddha's holding the *saṅghāṭi* under the right arm. Let us examine these features separately.

The treatment of the hair is indeed very peculiar. Among the recently discovered stucco heads of Hadda, there are some, for instance several heads of young Phrygians, whose hair is similar to the hair of the British Museum bust of Alexander; other heads of Buddha have curled hair, for instance one discovered at Amarāvati by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, which is now exhibited in the Musée Guimet of Paris. Actually this head has on this account been compared with the head of Harmodios in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.¹ First of all, we must admit that the treatment of the hair is so varied in the heads found at

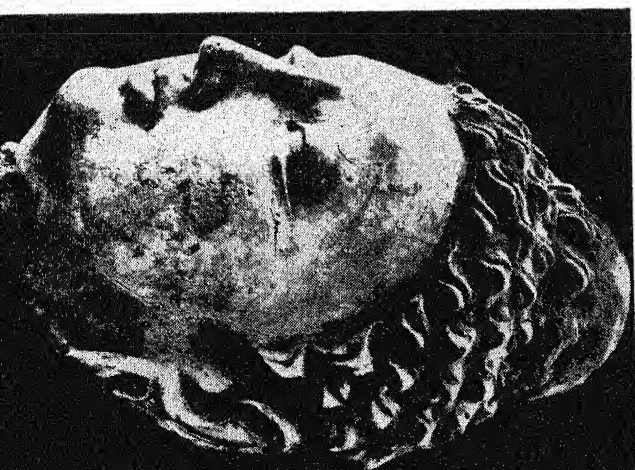
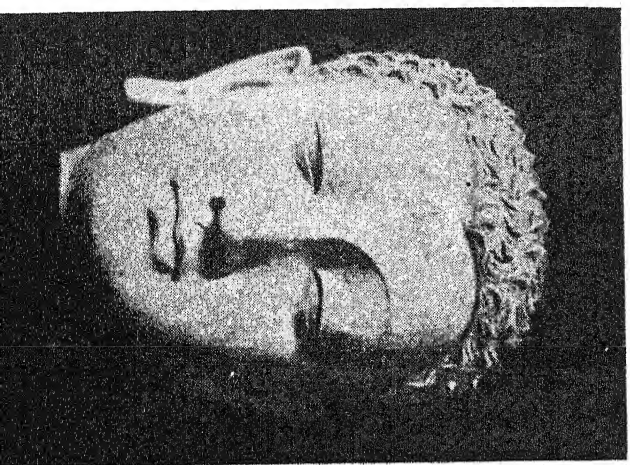
¹ Hackin, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 10 and pl. J.



a. Shāhbaz-Garhi. Statue of a
Bodhisattva. Musée du Louvre, Paris



b. Haḍḍa. *Bhikkhās* and *bhikkhunī*
Kābul Museum



Haḍḍa that nothing can be decided out of some similarity between the hair of some of these heads and some Greek statues. Sometimes the hair is undulated and projecting. Other times it produces the effect of creepers embossed in the hair. Now the hair is long and dressed backwards. Then it is cropped short and curled in different directions. The illustrations reproduced in the course of this paper have already shown a great variety in this respect. It is not therefore strange that in this galaxy of *coiffures* some of the artists of India should agree with some of the artists of Greece, for we must admit that two artists may have a similar inspiration independently of each other.

As regards the curled hair of the two statues referred to above, there is indeed an apparent similarity, but if well considered there is a great difference between both cases. The curled hair of Buddha's statue is one of the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas*, or marks of the perfect man, and according to the prescriptions of ancient Buddhist literature the curl goes from left to right. While in the statue of Harmodios the curls go from right to left.

As regards the profile of some images of Buddha, the resemblance with the ancient Greek statues is very striking. (Pl. XVIII, *a*). But this similarity was not necessarily influenced by Greek statues, which on the other hand have not been found in Afghānistān and northern India, as said above. This is a facial type which was undoubtedly common in ancient Greece. Many of those Greeks who came to India had beyond doubt the same type of face. Some of their descendants in India, at least in the beginning of the Christian era very likely inherited these characteristic features. Even during my tour through Afghānistān I could trace them in four men I came across, one of them being a youth, a Tajik, who was working in the garden of the Italian Legation at Kābul. It is not therefore strange that in the statues they produced the artists of the Kuṣāna period should have copied some of these features, that existed in reality amongst their neighbours.

Finally the style of wearing the *saṅghāṭi* is also very peculiar. (Pl. XIII, *b*). In the Museum of Kābul next to one of the images of Buddha carved in this fashion there is a photograph of the famous classical statue of Sophocles in order to show the similarity

existing between the two fashions. I would readily admit Greek influence in this case, but not precisely influence from Greek works of art. Many a Greek had been in those regions some centuries before. This fashion of wearing the *toga* was undoubtedly imitated by indigenous people. Even now-a-days Afghān shepherds, in winter, wrap themselves in a blanket passing it from above the right shoulder to under the left arm, the hand coming out in the same graceful style of Sophocles' statue.¹ The Gandhāra artist copied real life in his statues; no wonder then that Buddha's statue should be clad in the style observed by him in daily life.

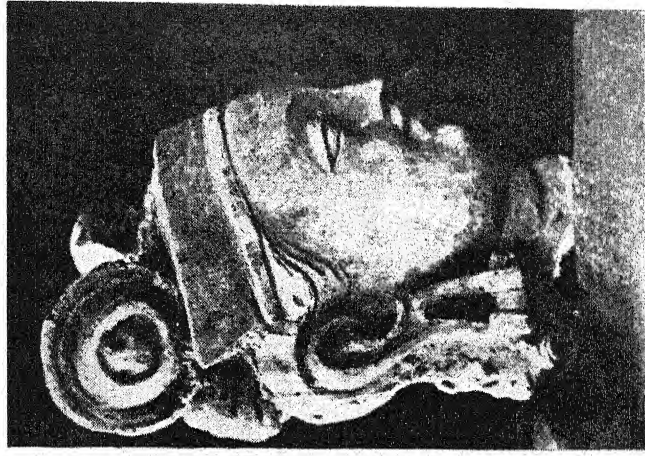
The study of these little details invites us to notice that, contrary to what is being said about the Greek origin of these Gandhāra sculptures, many of them show that they are really Indian. We have already mentioned the curls of hair of Buddha's statue, as one of the *lakṣaṇas*, of the perfect man, according to ancient Buddhist literature. The *uśnīṣa* or skull protuberance in all Buddha's images is certainly not a Greek feature, but another of these *lakṣaṇas*. Not only some images of Buddha, but practically all the images present another *lakṣaṇa* viz., the oblong ear lobe practically down to the shoulder, a thing that no hellenic artist would ever have dared to reproduce, being for them a really barbaric feature. Let us also notice that specially in many heads discovered at Hadda the eyes are not a faithful reproduction of these organs as they are in the world of reality. (Pl. XVII, b). They have already the tendency to become almondshaped, as we see in the sculpture and paintings of the whole of India from the 5th to the 13th century. Some Hadda girls specially are clearly the forerunners of the Ajanta maidens.

It is therefore evident that the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra is not Greek at all, neither influenced by Greek sculptors nor models in any way; but it is purely an indigenous

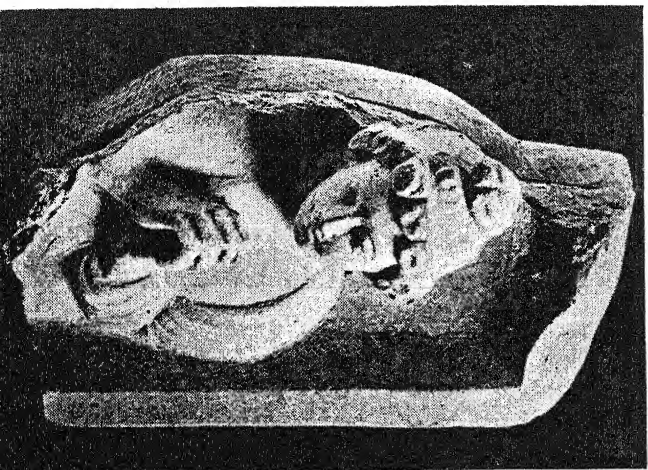
¹ In a lecture I gave at Kabul under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Adabi, on the 3rd of November, 1934, I already remarked that the people of the country use still to wrap themselves in the same graceful manner as the people of ancient Greece. Cf. *Istah Kabul*. Nov. 5th. 1934.



a. Haḍḍa. A Buddhist Devotee in Prayer
Kābul Museum



b. Haḍḍa. Head of a vain girl
Kābul Museum



school of sculpture, with different ideals and with features which are absolutely and unmistakably Indian.

But here the following question will naturally arise : Who were therefore the sculptors of Gandhāra ? Who created that art so different in its Indian characteristics from the art and sculptures produced later in India in its classical times and after ? For the great dissimilarity existing between the Gandhāra sculptures and the sculptures of the rest of India from the Gupta period down to the Hoysala times and even the Vijayanagara ages has been the main cause why many historians and art critics were inclined to explain it as influenced by the Greeks in the northern territories.

This is indeed the crux-question of the whole problem, which we shall try to study in its widest possible sense. For doing so let us first investigate who were the inhabitants of that part of the country.

First of all, there were Āryans left there from the time of the Āryan invasion at least 2,000 years before. They had partly mixed with the people of the country, as everywhere else in ancient times. But the Indo-Āryans had never as yet proved good sculptors. In the *R̥gveda* there is no word about images,¹ nor did they seem to exist ; it is after a few centuries they came into being perhaps by virtue of Dravidian influence.² As a matter of fact among the first three images spoken of in a historical document two are images of Dravidian gods admitted into the Āryan pantheon. Pātañjali, in the second century B.C., commenting upon Pāṇini speaks of the exhibition of the gods Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha.³ Thus these exhibitions took place at least in Pātañjali's days in the second century B. C., and even perhaps during the life of Pāṇini, two centuries earlier. The practice of

¹ One case in which a statue of Indra seems to be mentioned is very doubtful (*Rv.*, I, 21^s).

² Cf. Macdonnell, *Development of Early Hindu Iconography*, J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 602. The aversion of Buddha towards idols seems to be a manifestation of the primitive Āryan faith against an influence from outside.

³ Cf. Sten Konow, *Note on the Use of Images in Ancient India*, I.A., XXXVIII. n. 149.

carving images undoubtedly continued and increased, for from about the middle of the first century A. D., Hindu gods were represented with four arms on Indian coins,¹ which beyond doubt means that such images were already used and worshipped. Yet none of these images has come down to us. The earliest image of an Āryan god known hitherto is the statue of Surya in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Gudimallan, North Arcot District.² (Let us note *en passant* that this icon is found in the centre of the Dravidian country.) The statue is very probably of the middle of the second century A.D. or beginning of the third.

One century earlier the images of the School of Gandhāra were already being produced. The perfection of the specimens of the Gandhāra school supposes indeed a long tradition and we do not know of any tradition about Indo-Āryan skill in carving and modelling.

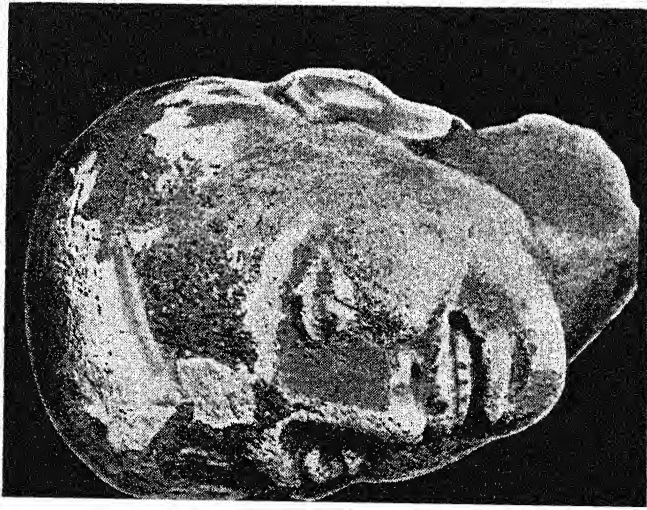
But were there other people in the territory where this school flourished? Let us turn back some pages of the proto-history of Hindustān; and in Vedic literature we shall find that south of the river Kubhā (Kābul) up to its mouth in the Indus, and even down the eastern side of the Indus itself, there dwelt a large tribe of people called Gandhāris.³ The Gandhāris are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* united with the Mūjavants, Aṅgas and Magadhas.⁴ So, as the Aṅgas and Magadhas marked the eastern boundaries of the Āryan possessions, in the same way the Gandhāris and the Mūjavants were on the north-western borders. The natural consequence of this enumeration seems to be that as the Aṅgas and Magadhas were pre-Āryan people, in the same way the Gandhāris and Mūjavants seem to be pre-Āryan. This consequence is confirmed by the fact that the *Atharvaveda* itself banishes fever (*takman*) from the Āryans to the Mūjavants, who were all north-western tribes and enemies of the Āryans, otherwise

¹ Macdonnell, *The Development of Early Hindu Iconography*, J.R.A.S., 1916, p. 130.

² Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, Part 2, pp. 312-313.

³ Zimmer, *Altindische Leben*, pp. 30-31.

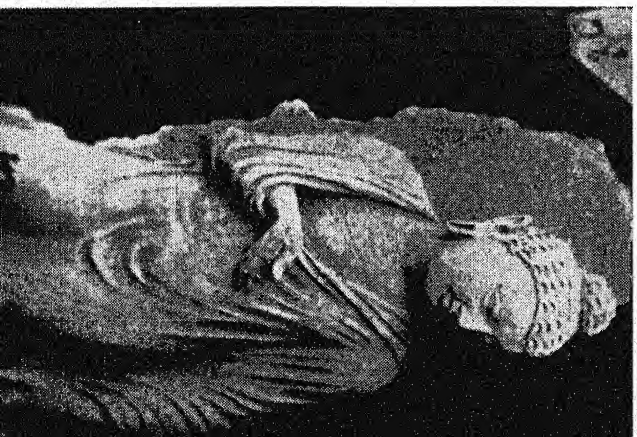
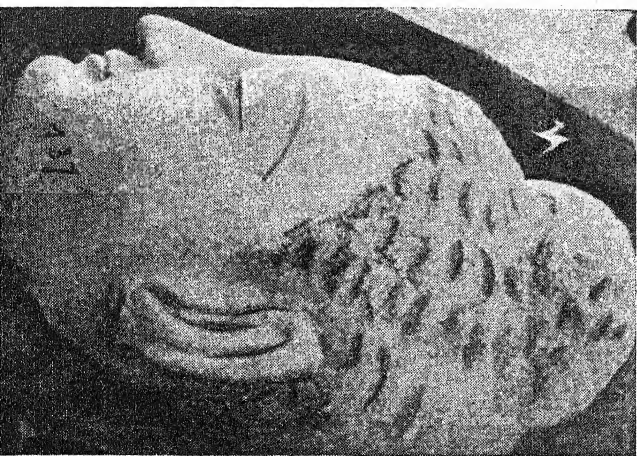
⁴ *Av.*, V, 22¹⁴.



Hadda. Head of a *bhikkhu* in a happy mood
Musée Guimet, Paris



b. Hadda. Head of a girl with almond-
shaped eyes
Kabul Museum



takman would not be sent to them. As a matter of fact the Gandhāris seem to be much older than the Āryans in the *R̥gveda* itself. In a hymn that praises king Bhavya who ruled on the banks of Sindhu, there is a stanza in a different metre that refers to the sheep reared by the Gandhāris.¹ This stanza is acknowledged as part of a popular song of an erotic nature which must naturally be much older than the *R̥gvedic* hymn itself, and consequently prior to the Āryan invasions.²

Besides other minor clans which seem also to be pre-Āryan, such as the Madras, the Śivas, the Bālīhikas, the Bhalanas and others, we must mention two more tribes whose role seems to be of some more importance in the north-western territories, *viz.*, the Kambhojas and the Takhas or Takṣas. The former are said to speak a language different from that of the Āryans,³ while the latter, who were once defeated by Sudas in the battle of the ten kings, belonged, according to the *Mahābhārata*, to the Nāga race and were therefore Dravidians.⁴ All these tribes, though originally Dravidian, were Āryanized in the course of time; yet their Āryan neighbours disapproved of many ancient non-Āryan customs still remaining amongst them after centuries of Āryanization. Thus the *Mahābhārata* disapproves of the customs of having Kshatriyas as priests as was common amongst the Madras.⁵ Similarly during the same period, the Bālīhikas used to eat their food from wooden or earthen vessels, a practice that is abominated by the same epic.⁶

Were these Dravidian tribes in any way capable of producing such works of art as the specimens of the Gandhāra School? First of all, let us bear in mind that the Dravidians possessed a much higher degree of civilization than the Āryans when the latter

¹ *Rv.*, I, 126 7.

² Cf. Law, *Some Ksatrya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 255; Griffith, *The Hymns of the R̥gveda*, I, App. I, p. 648.

³ *Nirukta*, II, 2.

⁴ *Mahabharata*, Adi Parva, Paushya, p. III.

⁵ *Mahabharata*, Karna Parva, p. XLV.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

invaded the country.¹ Moreover, there are among the Dravidians a very early sculptural tradition and high æsthetic ideals. The first works of art that mark a very great development in sculpture come from Harappa and Mohenjo Daro.

This is not the place to prove that the civilization of the Indus valley is pre-Āryan, a fact which has been sufficiently demonstrated by Sir John Marshall, Mr. Ernest Mackay and others, whose arguments have never been weakened by those who wish to see manifestations of Āryan culture in those two cities. Suffice it to say that the horse, an animal eminently Āryan, is totally unknown to the inhabitants of Mohenjo Daro, who otherwise know the bull, the goat, the buffalo, the unicorn, the tiger, the elephant and perhaps other animals; that the worship of the *liṅga* seems to have been known there; that tree worship was very common; that one of the most common signs of the Mohenjo Daro seals—the sign read *gau* or cow by Dr. Pran-Nath² and which seems to be the fore-runner of the *taurus* sign, but which really is the suffix of possession *adu*—has been found engraved in some prehistoric pottery in the village of Vallalur in Coimbatore District, in the heart of the Dravidian country.³

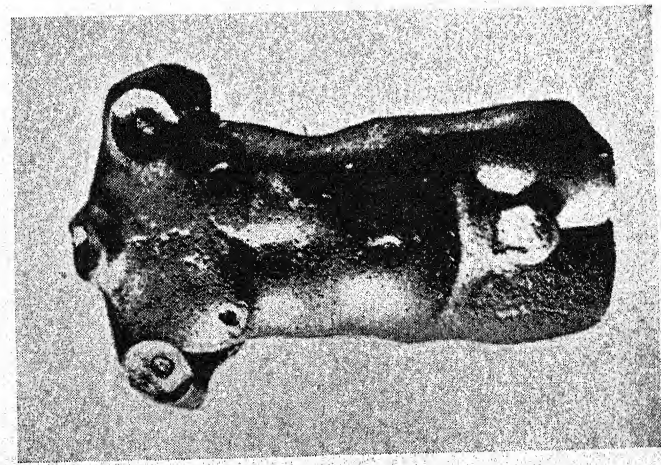
Now two fragmentary stone statuettes have been unearthed in Harappa (Pl. XIX, *a*, *b*) which made Sir John Marshall⁴ write the following statements in connection with their discovery:—

“When I first saw them I found it difficult to believe that they were prehistoric; they seemed so completely to upset all established ideas about early art. Modelling such as this was unknown in the ancient world up to the Hellenistic age of Greece, and I thought, therefore, that some mistakes must surely have been made; that these figures belonged to the Indo-Greek, Scythian, or Parthian period in the Panjab, and somehow or

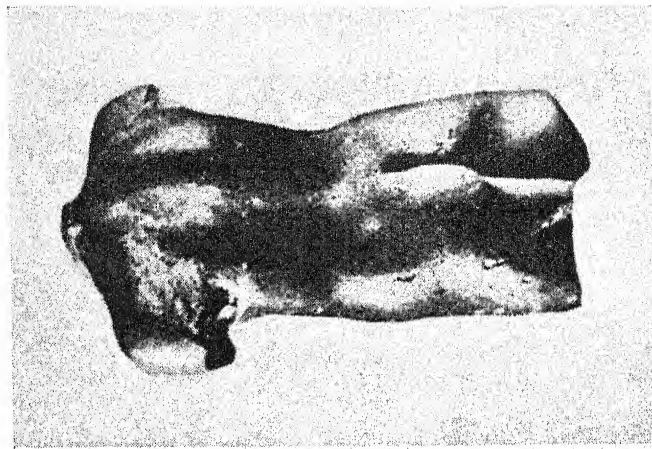
¹ Cf. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, pp. 12-14.

² Nath, *The Dawn of Indian Writing, Illustrated Weekly of India*, 13th October, 1935, pp. 20, 31 and 32.

³ Bruce-Foote, *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquity, Government Museum, Madras*, pl. XXXV.



a. A torso from Harappa (front)
Copyright. Archaeological Survey of India

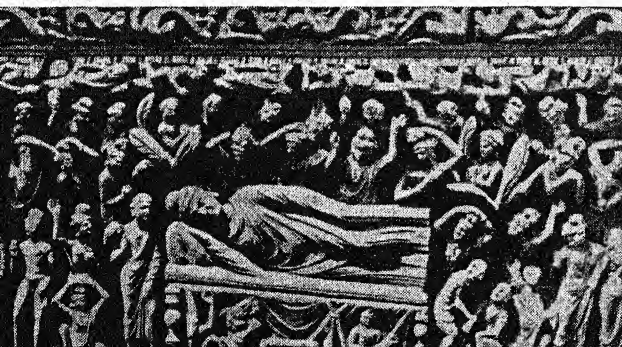


b. A torso from Harappa (back)
Copyright. Archaeological Survey of India



a. A Mohenjo Daro Seal

Copyright. Archaeological Survey of India



other had found their way into levels some 3,000 years older than those to which they properly belonged. This, too, I expect, will be the first idea of everyone else who is familiar with the history of early sculpture."

Yet Sir John Marshall was easily convinced that they could not but be prehistoric on account of the circumstances of the discovery and because of the internal evidence afforded by the statuettes themselves.

One of them is a torso in fine red stone. "The pose", continues Sir John Marshall, "is a frontal one with shoulders well back and abdomen slightly prominent; but the beauty of this little statuette is in the refined and wonderfully truthful modelling of the fleshly parts. Observe, for example, the subtle flattening of the buttocks and the clever little dimples of the posterior superior spines of the illum. This is work of which a Greek of the fourth century A.D. might well have been proud. And yet the set of the figure, with its rather pronounced abdomen, is characteristically Indian, not Greek; and even if Greek influence could be proved, it would have to be admitted that the execution is Indian."¹

Sir John Marshall also describes the other statuette, made of dark grey slate, as follows:—

"It is the figure of a dancer, standing on his right leg, with the body from the waist upwards bent well round to the left, both arms thrown out in the same direction, and the left leg raised high in front."²

When after describing the two images, Sir John Marshall makes the final criticism of these two surprisingly early works of art he reminds us of those differences which essentially exist between the Greek art and these masterpieces of the Indian artist, which nevertheless superficially seem to be so similar: "They (the statuettes)," says he, "give us the form, not the substance, of Greek art. Superficially, they call to mind the Hellenistic prototypes of which they are to some extent transcripts; and they

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

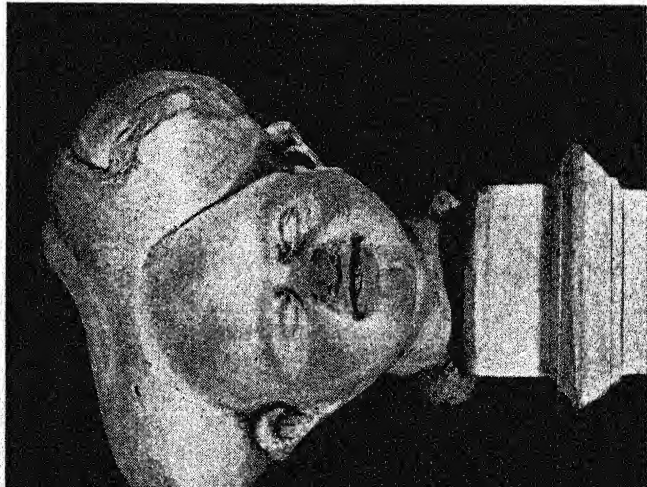
possess besides many merits of their own in which Hellenic inspiration had no part. But they miss altogether that characteristic genius of the Greek which delighted in anatomical truth and took infinite pains to press it convincingly. Now, in these two statuettes it is just this anatomical truth that is so startling, that makes us wonder whether, in this all-important matter, Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far-off age on the banks of the Indus."¹ Such artists who anticipated the Greek ones by so many centuries were Dravidian sculptors.

These Dravidian artists were not less skilful in engraving the figures of animals on seals than in producing the two startling statuettes described above. Let us examine the humped bull of one of the seals found at Mohenjo Daro. (Pl. XX, a). "Its engraver," says Sir John Marshall, "has obviously made a careful study of his subject and given us a faithful rendering of it, but he has done much more than this; he has tempered realism with breadth of treatment and restraint, and has brought out the dignity of that animal in a way that only the eye and the hand of a true artist could have done."² The dignity of the animal, so well emphasised by Sir John, corresponds to that revelation of the spiritual side of the image mentioned above as one of the characteristic notes of the School of Gandhāra.

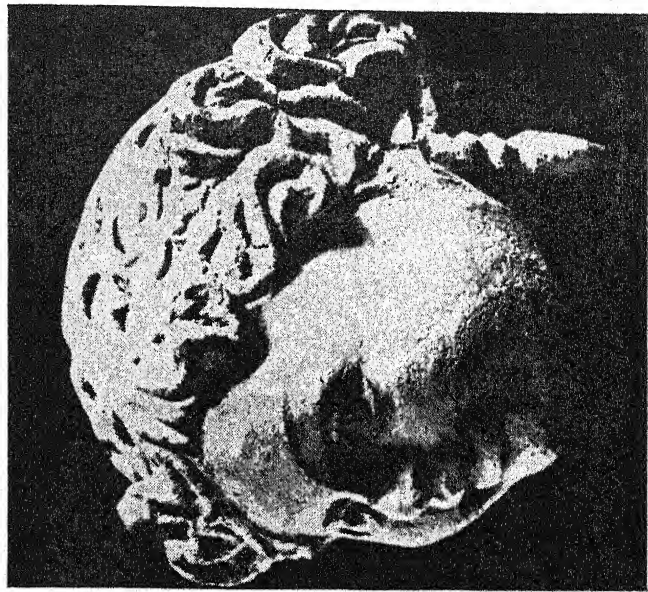
The far-off age of these works of art does not allow us to continue this artistic tradition year by year. Moreover many of those ancient works must have totally disappeared on account of the perishable material of which they were made, for instance wood or clay. Finally the wars fought in northern India as a consequence of the Āryan invasion, the subsequent wars of Kurukṣetra and those of Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya did not allow the Dravidian artists to produce new manifestations of their national school. But in the fourth century B.C., corresponding to the period of peace started by Aśoka after his war with the Kalingas, we suddenly come across two small heads which again reveal the artist of the same school. I refer to the two delightful terracotta heads of a boy and a girl, perhaps brother

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

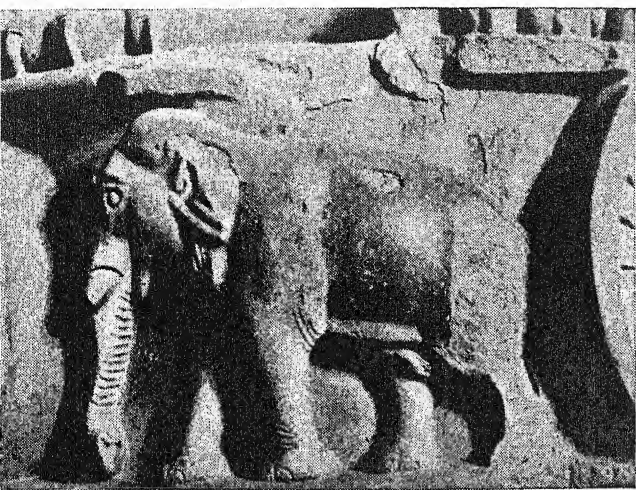
² *Ibid.*, p. 42.



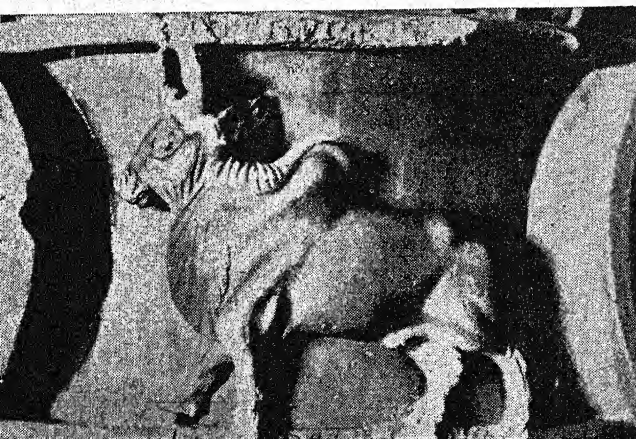
a. Pāṭaliputra. Head of a happy boy
Patna Museum



b. Hadda. Head of a happy boy
Kābul Museum



Sarnath. Elephant on the plinth of the capital of Asoka's Pillar
 Copyright. *Archæological Survey of India*



and sister, found in the excavations of Pataliputra and now kept in the Patna Museum. One is the real portrait of a serious and thoughtful girl, between 10 and 12 years old. But the likeness of the boy is still more remarkable. (Pl. XXI, a). If you except the exotic headgear, which on the other hand must be an exact reproduction of the headgear worn by boys those days, the sculpture may be styled a modern work of art, or a work of art of the Renaissance period. But a Greek sculptor has never produced the portrait of any person in such an exultant mood. That 7 or 8 years old boy is laughing, but laughing in such an innocent and uproarious way that one imagines one hears his laughter sounding as the drops of a fountain falling over the marble basin. The portrait clearly reveals the innocence and joy of the boy's heart.

Yet were these two pieces produced by Dravidian artists? Undoubtedly. Pāṭaliputra had been the capital of Magadha since the days of the Nandas. The contempt with which the Vedic *ṛsis* spoke of the Magadhas is well-known. It was a Dravidian kingdom which proved to be very reluctant to accept Āryanization. The dynasty reigning at Magadha during the *Mahābhārata* war was not Āryan. Jarāsandha, the king then reigning at Rājagriha, was himself a Dravidian. In the time of the Mauryas, Magadha was much Āryanized; but the Dravidian element was beyond doubt prevalent. The kings undoubtedly used Dravidian sculptors who had been such skilful artists in the past.

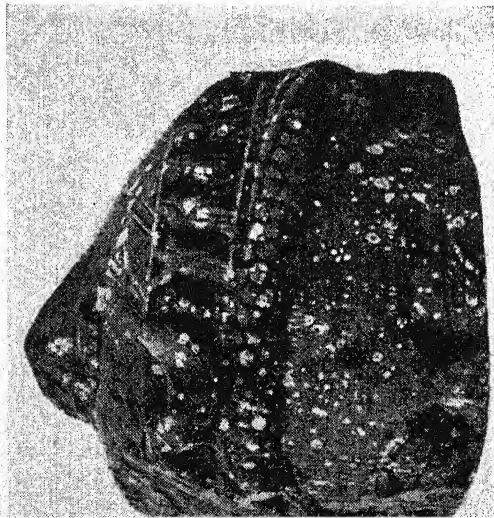
But besides this the internal evidence of these two heads confirms the same origin. They are portraits, real portraits of life, but revealing the state of the soul in a wonderful way: the steadiness of the girl's character and the boyish character of that youth; he laughs now, but he may cry a moment afterwards. Among the stucco heads discovered at Hadda there is one that may be styled a replica of the boy of Pāṭaliputra. (Pl. XXI, b). The authors of these two heads though separated by hundreds of miles of distance and by more than four centuries of time, must belong to the same School.

As stated above, Aśoka, after having decided not to wage war any more, must have employed many Dravidian artists, for we come across works of this school in several parts of his

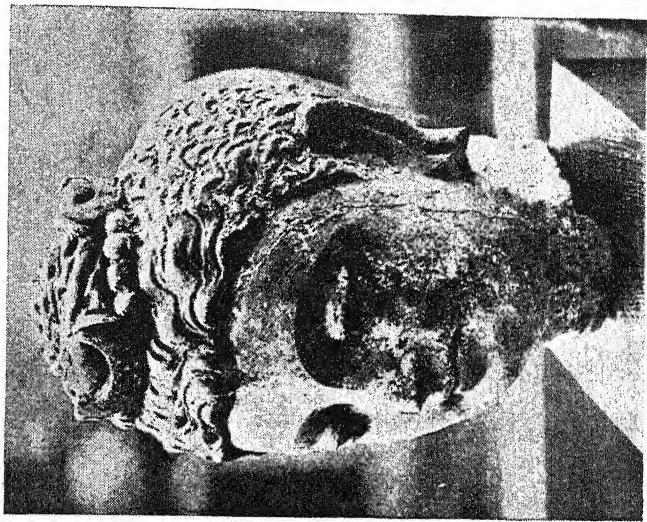
dominions. Let me mention only some of the magnificent capitals of his edict pillars where some figures of animals are skilfully carved. The lions of the Sārnāth pillar are really living animals totally different in technique from the lions of Persepolis and from the lions of Indian iconography of later times. Still far surpassing the beauty of these lions are the three animals represented in bas-relief on the plinth of the bell-lotus that forms the same capital. One is a horse, as if running in a race, full of vigour. Another is an elephant, calm, powerful and resigned. (Pl. XXII, *a*). The artist has been very diligent in showing the foldings of the loose skin under the neck and the trunk and behind the front legs. The third animal is a bullock also portrayed with wonderful skill and executed with unsurpassed technique. (Pl. XXII, *b*). The young bull that crowns Aśoka's capital at Rampurva which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is evidently together with the bullock of Sārnāth, a continuation of the tradition in animal engraving which we have admired among the artists of Mohenjo Daro.

There is in the Museum of Mathurā a fragmentary head of the same period, which is evidently of the same school, (Pl. XXIII, *a*), a circumstance which is of the greatest importance, for Mathurā being in the ancient Madhyadeśa, the centre of Āryan culture, shows that the Dravidian artists spread also to the purely Āryan kingdom. This specimen unfortunately shows only the upper portion of the head, probably of a woman crowned with a fillet which is adorned with a crescent in the front. This simple head-gear is also very common in Gandhāra proper (Pl. XXIII, *b*). The forehead, eyes and bridge of the nose might have been carved by a Haḍḍa sculptor.

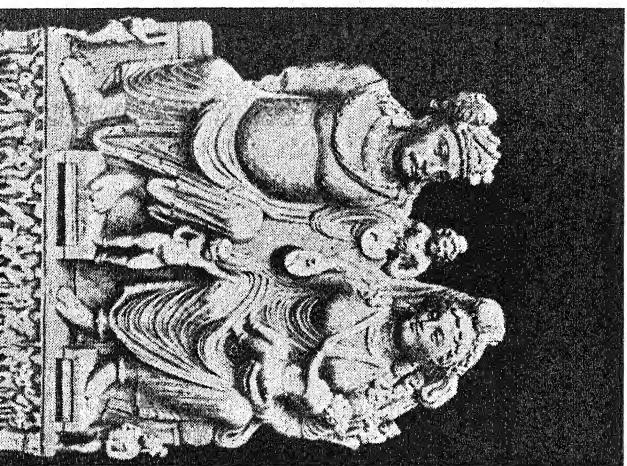
After these the specimens that mark the tradition of this school are the specimens of southern Afghānistān, Peshāwar, Taxila and Lahore. What was the cause of the sudden revival of this art in the north-western corner of India? In that portion of the country wars and invasions had succeeded each other at least from the time of Alexander's inroad. Plastic arts do not flourish in the midst of the clash of arms; but in the first century of the Christian era, Vima Kadphises, the second Kuṣāna king of Hindustān, had conquered the country at least down to the Jumna. His son, Kaniska, a monarch of enlightened vision and of artistic



a. Coiffure adorned with a crescent
Mathurā Museum



b. Haḍḍa. Coiffure adorned with crescents
Kabul Museum



pursuits, succeeded him. During his reign the best works of the Gandhāra School were produced. But the extraordinary efflorescence of this Dravidian art had within itself the seeds of its degeneration. So many images were required for decorating temples and monasteries that second class artists were also called to exercise their skill and they were the cause of a decay in the school. The fact that the degeneration of the school appears specially in Mathurā and southern Panjab, the ancient Madhyadeśa, makes one suspect that this degeneration was due to the Āryan element without tradition, without artistic ideals, without proper inspiration. This degeneration extended up to Gandhāra itself in a later period. One specimen only of the Peshāwar Museum will suffice to illustrate the spreading of this decay (Pl. XXIV, *a*). It is the group is Pañchika and Haritī, the god of wealth and the goddess of fertility. A number of children have been placed round the happy goddess. The feet of both figures are much too large, out of proportion, while their legs that may be detected through their dress are only shapeless sticks without muscles. There is nothing striking in this specimen of the degenerated Gandhāra School.

Before closing the study of this artistic tradition, I must mention another specimen of this school discovered at an ancient temple at Gudimallam. It is a standing statue of Śiva attached to a *līṅga*, of the first century B.C. The whole image as well as the *līṅga*, which is made of a reddish igneous stone, looks alive, and almost stepping out of its base. Śiva stands astride upon the shoulders of a Rakṣasa. He wears a loin cloth but this is so transparent that his well rounded legs are seen through it, though the creases and folds that are formed across the thighs are very delicately executed. The execution of his torso reveals a close study of the anatomy of the human body. He has only two arms. His right hand holds a ram by its hind legs its head hanging downwards, while his left hand holds a *paraśu* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. But the most remarkable feature of this statue is its head. The face is most clearly Mongoloid, but full of expression and life. It reveals its joy on account of Śiva's triumph over the Rakṣasa. Two large beads of a shape very common in India from the prehistoric period take the place of earrings. The ear-lobes hang down as far as the shoulders. He wears a turban-like *jaṭā-makuta*, of plaited hair.

The whole statue of Śiva as well as the *linga*, behind it are beautifully polished, just as the famous pillars of Aśoka and the interiors of the caves of the Barabar hills. This is very suggestive indeed, because if it proves anything, it proves that the extraordinary polish of those monuments, which has been a great puzzle to modern art critics and archæologists, must have been the secret of the early Dravidian artists, a secret which has passed into oblivion with the disappearance of that school.

This remarkable figure of Śiva contemporary with, or perhaps a little posterior to the Gandhāra icons, is the last production in the long tradition of the Dravidian school of sculpture, the first specimens of which date back to 3,000 years B.C. The Gandhāra school is only an off-shoot, very extraordinary indeed, of this Dravidian School.

The degeneration of the Gandhāra School continued rapidly down to the Gupta period. There was then a revival of the art of sculpture, the tendency of which moved along totally different lines. When during the same period the *Śilpaśāstras* and specially the *Mānasāra* were compiled, the tradition of Gandhāra was totally dead and the traditionally classical Indian sculpture has nothing resembling those models. An attempt at reviving that tradition was made in the 16th century A.D. in the most southern district of the Indian peninsula during the reign of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Madura;¹ but the attempt failed. That was the end of the Dravidian School of sculpture.

The conclusions arrived at after this long study are the following :—

1. The so-called Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra did not flourish in the centre of the Greek possessions in the

¹ I have described some of the masterpieces of this Madura School in an article entitled, *A Realistic School of Indian Sculpture in the 16th century*, published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (History Section), I, pp. 13-18. I had then wrongly suggested—as I realize now—European influence in order to explain the sudden appearance of those realistic sculptures full of life. I recognise now that they are only the natural outcome of the æsthetic temperament of the Dravidian race. They are like a phenomenon of artistic atavism. In point of fact collectors of Indian bronzes know very well that those icons that come from the purely Dravidian country are generally much more artistic than those that come from the Northern Provinces, where Āryan culture has had more influence.

East, but only in the regions south of the Hindu Kush and in the north-western provinces of Hindustān.

2. The centre of this school seems to have been Haḍḍa on the plains of Jalālābād, 6 miles south of this city. The specimens of this school found in Peshāwar, Taxila and Lahore are not as beautiful as the Haḍḍa ones.

3. The so-called Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra is not at all influenced by Greek models or by Greek ideals; though the Gandhāra works of art have an *apparent* point of contact with those of the Greek school. Yet they are totally different in their main object and in their practical execution.

4. The school of Gandhāra aims at the reproduction of reality, not precisely the physical beauty of man. Hence it discloses the affections and feelings of the soul in the most marvellous way, an object which has never been within the scope of the Greek school.

5. The Gandhāra school is only the continuation of the artistic tradition of the Dravidian nation, whose first known specimens come from Harappa and Mohenjo Daro.

6. The Gandhāra school flourished so much, thanks to the patronage of the Kuṣāna King Kanīśka. The degeneration of its art was due to the admittance of Āryan artists among the Dravidian sculptors.

SHORT NOTES

I

INDIAN "ERAS" AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

BY S. V. VISWANATHA

The significance of the "Vikrama" and "Śaka" eras dating respectively from 57 B.C. and 78 A.D. and the events or incidents represented by them have been for long a matter of discussion and dispute, though some amount of agreement may be said to have been reached in regard to the details appearing in connection with them. The attempts made so far by the learned scholars engaged in this problem appear to have been rather one-sided, each striving to fix the importance of the years with reference to one significant incident or personality on which the respective studies were centred. They are seen, therefore, to be not free from the obsession of applying to a large portion of the country what really, according to their calculation, can apply only to a particular part of India with which they deal. There is no necessity at this stage to go once more over the various grounds so ably traversed by competent authorities in the field, and so well known now among scholars in Indian History. We shall deal here briefly with the importance of these two eras and the Chedi era starting in 248 A.D. which is also found to be of wide use in Indian literature and tradition.

The question that naturally suggests itself is, can a single event, even of great magnitude, have led to such wide recognition of its importance and for its date to be of so universal an application? The different names under which these eras are seen used in literature and epigraphy seem rather to point to a variety of incidents that should have taken place in the years assigned to them. Śaka era is Sālivāhana *śakābda* especially in the Dekhan and South India. The Vikrama is also the Mālava era, and is associated in tradition and legends with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjain in Malwa, one of the main centres of religion, learning and arts in ancient India. The Chedi era is the era of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka dynasty and is also known as Kālachuri or Uchhakalpa,

and found used in the history of the central dynasties of the Dekhan, whose sway extended from the eastern to the western coasts, though it is more localized and less universal than the others. Though the peculiar name given to an era might have been suggested with reference to the most significant of the events that had happened in the particular year, this date could have been accepted by immemorial usage as marking an era not because it was founded by any one king, however great he was, or because the hall-mark was set upon it by him. The year in which an era is dated must be a climateric year of great incidents.

1

57 B.C. the year of the Vikrama era was marked by the assertion of the imperial dominion in North India under the foreign prince Azes I. This was the year of a great defeat (*vikrama*) and conquest, and memorable for the reason that an alien dynasty Śaka or Pahlava had established itself in Hindustan. (See Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. cviii) Azes I "was reigning in the third quarter of the first century B.C., while the probability that he may have founded an era is also suggested by the abundance of his coins which denote his pre-eminence among the Śaka-Pahlava sovereigns." (Marshall, *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, 171.) This will account for why the era should have been in use in the coinage and inscriptions of the Kshaharatas in both their branches at Mathura and near the gulf of Cambay. As the Kshaharatas belonged to the same race to which Azes belonged, the Vikrama era came to be looked upon as no other than the Kshaharata era. (Dubreuil, *Dekhan*, p. 21.) But why should it have found currency in other parts of the country, and among other dynasties of kings? The alternative name Mālava taken along with Vikrama will be found to give the answer. As Dubreuil says, (*Dekhan*, 15) it is possible that a Sātavāhana king helped Vasudeva Kaṇwa in overthrowing the old dynasty of the Śuṅgas. This Andhra king set himself up at Bhilsa, and came to be known as Sātavāhana of Sāñchi. There is room to think that the Sātavāhana mentioned in the Sāñchi gateway reigned at Bhilsa between 72 and 56 B.C. According to the Puranic Lists, of Dynasties, Svāti is mentioned as the Andhra king of Pratishthāna about this time.

From the *Avantisundarī Kathā* of Daṇḍin it may be inferred that Śūdraka a Brahman minister of the Śātavāhana king Svāti, managed to effect a revolution, defeated and killed the reigning king through one of his courtiers Mūla-Deva who is described as a master of thief-craft (*Chora Śāstra*), carried away the princess Vinayavatī and married her and crowned himself as king of Ujjain in Malwa. This incident was certainly of such importance as to have given rise to the Mālava year of reckoning. The old ruling dynasty became extinct in this part of India due to the efforts of Śūdraka. Daṇḍin refers to this king in the following terms : *Sudrakenāsakrt jītvā svachhayā khaḍgadhārayā jagat bhūyō 'vasṭabdhām vāchā svacharitārthayā*. Allowing for poetic fancy the second line seems to contain a veiled reference to the "establishment once again of the sovereignty of the world" by Śūdraka and his warlike exploits, as are indicated in the story of the hero himself. This king and poet is referred to also as Vikrama and Sāhasa and Vishama śīla which are other names for Vikramāditya. The epithets "Vikramāṅka, Sāhasāṅka and Śaśāṅka" are seen to go together in tradition. The name Śaśāṅka, "one who has Śaśa for his mark" may be explained with reference to the character Śaśa who is described in Śūdraka's *Padma-prābhrtaka* as a messenger of the king's minister Mūla Deva. As Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi puts it with an intuitive insight, "one is strongly tempted to identify the king Śūdraka with the originator of the Vikrama era." (Oriental Conference Proceedings, Calcutta, 197).

2

It has been found that 78 A.D. was marked by the following incidents. The original theory that the Śaka era of this year was founded by the Kushana king Kanishka on his accession to the throne, has been refuted so much and no longer can hold the field, this sovereign being assigned now by all to about 120 A.D. It was the last year of the rule of Kujula Kadphises and the beginning of the imperial rule of the Kushanans (Śakas) in North India under Bhīma Kadphises (II). The Chir Stupa document of the 136th year of the Vikrama era, i.e., 79 A.D. indicates that the king who ruled in this year was Kadphises II. Dr. Sten Konow said, "there

cannot be much doubt that the kushana emperor of the Panjtār and Taxilla records was Kujula Kadphises and not Vima Kadphises." (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV. 289) Kujula was not an *Indian* sovereign proper, as is clear from the fact that no records of his are met with in North India. On the other hand, the coins of Kadphises II are found all over (Smith, 129) and obviously he was the first Kushana prince who conquered India and set up an imperial dynasty, whose territory extended as far as the Narbada. The year 78-79 A.D. in the Chir Stupa was marked, therefore, by the establishment in India of a foreign dominion under Kadphises II. In spite of so much that was written against his view, Konow said, "I am still of opinion that the Śaka era was established by Bhīma Kadphises." (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV. 141—The Ara Inscription.)

Cunningham expressed a theory long ago (1892) that the Śaka era may have been founded by Chashtāna the western Kshatrapa. Dr. Dubreuil, following him, affirms "that the only natural theory concerning the Śaka era is that it was founded by Chashtāna." (*Dekhan*, 35) Cunningham stated even then that the Śaka satraps claimed Kadphises as their overlord. The family of Chashtāna was itself of foreign origin and perhaps Śaka; and therefore it would look rather inappropriate to suppose that Chashtāna should have founded an era separately from that of his overlords and his kith and kin. It is, however, a fact that he should have secured an independent position for himself only after the destruction of the Kshaharatas. The extermination of foreign powers that had established themselves over the Indian soil must have been considered an event of first rate importance, a stirring event of profound magnitude. In one of the Nasik Inscriptions (No. 2, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 61) Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni is referred to as the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas; as having rooted out the Kshaharata race and restored the Sātavāhana family." Consistent with the philosophy of conquest in Ancient India and the recognized policy of the conquerors, the Sātavāhana appointed the foreigner as the viceroy (Kshatrapa) of his conquered country in West India.

Chashtāna and his descendants held the position of Kshatrapa under Gautamīputra, as is indicated by the insignia of "Chaitya with three arches" met with in the coins of Chashtāna, similar

to that on the coins of Gautamīputra (Rapson, *Catalogue of coins*, plate X). This is probably the reason why in South India the Śaka era is referred to as that of Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana. This cannot be accounted for adequately with reference to any incident that may have taken place in North India, but must be connected with the exploits of a Śālivāhana.

3

In a paper that I contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Ābhira-Traikūṭaka Dynasty I made the suggestion that Īśvarasena the Ābhira-Traikūṭaka established himself in an independent position in the year 248 A.D. on the decline of the Western Kshatrapas, and that this important event may have originated the era, known as the Ābhira-Traikūṭaka, Chedi or Kaṭachuri. Recently, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal expressed a theory that "the Chedi era was founded by the Vākāṭakas." Vindhya sakti, the "banner of the Vākāṭaka race" is mentioned in the Ajanta epigraph without any royal title. He was probably only a local chieftain. (*Arch. Sur. of West India*, IV, 124). Consistent with the chronology of the early kings of this dynasty, the utmost that is possible is that he may have founded the era in the last years of his life or that it may denote the date when his son Pravarasena I became a *Samrāt*. But if this theory is accepted, why should the era not have been known after the Vākāṭakas who were certainly the most important dynasty of the Dekhan during the period? This is another indication that the date recognised as epoch-making depended not merely on the name by which it was known, but for the various incidents appearing in connection with it. Why again should it be found stated that the son of Pravarasena II (Narendra or Divākara) came to the throne in his eighth year and the era not have been used instead? Do we find the dates of all the kings of this dynasty given in relation to this reckoning? It is possible with reference to synchronisms known so far that Vindhyaśakti founded the Vākāṭaka dynasty of kings or that his son became a *Samrāt* in this year.

But the familiar name used for the era of 248 A.D. is never Vākāṭaka, so far as is known at present about it. It was known by the restricted name of the Chedi era, as it was most widely in use in

the inscriptions of the Kālachuri or kings of Chedi, and possibly because of the antiquity of the Chedi kingdom which is said to have been founded by the famous king Vasu Uparichara (*Ādi Parva*, 63).

In the year 248 the following events of importance appear to have taken place. The decline of the Western Kshatrapas led to the establishment of the Traikūṭaka and Vākāṭaka dynasties of kings. There is nothing in literature or in epigraphy that precludes the possibility of the fall of the empire of the Sātavāhanas in the same year. The last of the Āndhra kings was Pulomāyi in the eighth year of whose reign was issued the Myakadoni Inscription (*A.R.* for 1916, Madras, No. 509). The alphabet of this epigraph resembles that of the Jogayyapetta Inscription of the Ikshvāku king Śrī Purushadatta (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 153). The Inscription states that the territory was included in the possessions of (Śiva) Skanda Nāga, who is described as "the great commander." The year 248 was one of considerable confusion, consequent on the fall of the mighty power of the Western Kshatrapas and of the imperial power of the Sātavāhanas, in the midst of which there was the establishment of the various dynasties in the Dekhan area. On the downfall of the Sātavāhana empire, Bappa Deva the father of Śivaskanda Varman founded and set up the Pallava (Bhāradvāja) family. Dubreuil says, (Dekhan, 54), "it is probable that the king surnamed Bappa Deva reigned in the second quarter of the third century A.D. (225-250)". Other royal dynasties that were formed in the same year were the Ikshvākus who styled themselves the "Śrī Pārvatiya Āndhra-bhṛityas," of whom the first king was the Purisadata of the Jogayyapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraphs; and the Brihatpalāyanas in the East coast under their king Jaya Varman. "The language and phraseology of the Kondamudi plates issued in the tenth year of this king (Jaya Varman) are so similar to the Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni and Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Pulomayi that Jaya Varman's date cannot have been very distant from that of these two Andhra kings." "The alphabet of the inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince Śivaskanda Varman who issued the Mayidavolu plates." (Hultsch, in *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 315). "It is therefore certain that Jaya Varman reigned immediately after the Sātavāhanas." (Dubreuil, 84).

4

Now to summarise the position. What is attempted in this paper is only to put together all the incidents that would go to make each of these years remarkable land-marks in the history of India. It is hoped the conclusions arrived at would, in a way, reconcile the differences that have existed so far with reference to the significance of these eras, beginning with 57 B.C., 78 A.D., and 248 A.D.

So far as India and her political fortune were concerned these years were of marked failure as well as of splendid victory.

57 B.C. Ignominy of foreign rule under the Śākā, Azes I in the heart of Āryāvarta.

The glorious reign of Śūdraka at Ujjain in Malwa.

78 A.D. The establishment of an alien dynasty of Kushanas by Kadphises II in the centre of Hindustan. The splendid achievement of Gautamīputra against the foreign domination in general (*Śakāri*).

248 A.D. The decline of the Western Kshatrapas, a dynasty of foreign origin.

The fall of the Imperial Sātavāhana line ; and the foundation of the dynasties of the Dekhan.

II

THE WORD "ŚĀTRAM" IN THE GAḌHĀ (JASDAN)
INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKṢĀTRAPA RUDRASENA,
YEAR 126, OR 127¹.

BY H. D. SANKALIA

This word 'Śatram' is not yet satisfactorily explained.

Its context is as follows : *idam Śatram . . . Khara (r) patthasya bhātrabhiḥ Uthavita(m)* :² which is translated as "this Śatra was erected by the brothers of Khara(r) pattha . . ."

In a footnote on the word³ the editor gives the different suggested meanings, saying that it was rendered as 'tank' by Bhau

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, 236.

² *Ibid*, line 5 (Text), 238.

³ *Ibid*, 239, n. 2.

Daji; 'a kind of expensive soma sacrifice extending over many days' from a Prākṛit form of *satra* by Hoernle; and compared with *sata* (? seat) occurring in a Buddhist cave inscription by Lüders.

R. D. Banerji took it as a Prakrit form of *satra* and translated it 'almhouse', which meaning that word has in most of the dialects of North India.

Surprisingly I find support for the views of Banerji in the Bāgumrā grant of Dhruva III. Samvat 789.¹ Therein a village is granted for the continuation of a *satra* (*satrapravarttanārttham*), etc.

Bühler explains it as '*Sadāvrata*'², i.e., an almhouse, such as those which exist even to-day.

Bühler is fully borne out by the text of the inscription which says that on the receipt of a village from the king, a *satra* was founded where thousands of Brāhmanas and men of royal descent dined daily³.

This is exactly what the Gaḍhā ins. says that a *Śatra* was erected. The word '*Uttaravita*' may be translated as 'started' or 'founded' and not necessarily as 'erected.'

I may further add to the suggestion of Banerji that '*Śatra*' is a Prakrit form, particularly of the Māgadhi dialect where all sibilants are reduced to ś.⁴

III

A NOTE ON THE KṢATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHAU, CUTCH

BY H. D. SANKALIA,

Unlike other inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas of the Chaṣṭana family, the four inscriptions, found at Andhau, in Cutch⁵ used

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 179.

² *Ibid.*, 181.

³ *Ibid.*, 184-185, ll. 44-45.

⁴ Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, 1914, 82.

⁵ First noticed by Bhandarkar in A. Pro. Rep. A. S. I., W. C., 1905-06, p. 35, Summary, *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 67.

Ed. by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, 19-25.

only the word "Rājan" as the title of both Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman.

Again they do not mention their relation, but read as follows : *Rājño Chāṣṭanasa Ysāmotikaputrasa Rājño Rudradamasa Jayādāmasa putrasa...* " of king Chaṣṭana, of king Rudradāmasa son of Jayadāma."

This led Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar to suggest that these inscriptions speak of Chāṣṭana and Rudradāman as joint rulers as kings only.¹ R. D. Banerji explained this fact as due to the ignorance of the exact relation between Chaṣṭana and Rudradāman on part of the engraver of the inscriptions.

In support of this theory, cited the fact, previously unnoticed, that besides some such words as denoting relation, the usual titles Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa are also missing. This once again shows "that in a remote place like Andhau, on the Raṇ of Cutch they (the people) were not aware of the new titles of the new dynasty of rulers."²

Agreeing with Banerji I should only like to suggest that the authors of the inscriptions did not mention the titles and the relation not because the place far off and the dynasty merely new, but more probably because the dynasty was totally foreign to them.

These inscriptions show once again that the western Kṣatrapas of Malwa belonged to a foreign race viz., the Parthians.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 154, n. 26.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 22.

³ But for the fact that even the few coins of Chaṣṭana and Jayadāman mention the titles 'Kṣatrapa' and 'Mahākṣatrapa' (see Rapson, *coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. 72-77) along with 'Rājan,' it would be tempting to suggest that both chaṣṭana and Rudradāman were, at first, merely kings and later they acquired the titles of 'Mahākṣatrapa', a state of things which is evidenced by the Andhau inscriptions where these titles are missing and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, where Rudradāman boasts of having acquired the title of Mahākṣatrapa; further that Rudradāman was the first to acquire the title which was later used for his father and grandfather.

IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR AN ISMAILI
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY ASAF A. A. FYZEE

After writing my short paper on "Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography: 1920-1934"¹ I sent copies of the draft to Profs. Wensinck (Leiden), Kratchkovsky (Leningrad), Strothmann (Hamburg), and Semenov (Tashkent), with the request that it would be a matter for gratitude if they were to send me additional titles. They were all good enough to reply and furnish additional material.

First, Professor A. A. Semenov (Tashkent) was good enough to send me a complete bibliography of books and articles on Ismailism in Russian.² Being in a language which I could not read I sought the help of my friend, Mr. W. Ivanow, who with his usual courtesy went through the whole of the material and we selected the following seven titles as being of real value:

BOBRINSKOY, A. A. (Count). The Ismailiya Sect in the Russian and Bukhara Districts of Central Asia. Originally published in the "Ethnographic Review" of the Imperial Society of Anthropology and Ethnography at the University of Moscow, 1902, vol. II, pp. 1-20. Separately: Moscow, 1902, 18 pp. in 8vo. (Very scarce).

————— *The Hillmen of the Upper Panjab, the Wakhanis and Ishkashimis*. With 20 photographs. Moscow, 1908. Pp. viii and 150, in 8vo.

SEME NOV, A. A. Shaikh Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī according to the ideas of the Ismailis of Shughnan. *Zapiski*, vol. xxii, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 247-256.

————— A Shughnani Ismaili Legend about the Bukhara Shaikh Bahā'u'd-dīn. *Zapiski*, vol. xxii, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 321-336.

¹ 1935, *JBBRAS*, 59-65.

² His letter, 25th February 1935.

—————A review of Nāṣiri Khusraw's *Book of Travellers' Provision* (*Kitābi Zādu'l Musāfirīn*). *Iran*, vol. i, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 224-231.

AZIZ NIALLO. *By Hill Tracks*. Notes on a tour in the Pamirs. Tashkent, 1933, 12mo. 156 pages.

(SEMENOV, A. A. *A History of Ismailism* by Md. b. Zainu'l-
'Ābidīni Khorāsānī Fidā'i. *In the press.*)

Professor Kratchkovsky (Leningrad) pointed out that No. 12 in the previous list is edited and translated by E. Berthels. He also suggests that "for an exhaustive bibliography it is desirable to notice articles in some greater and special encyclopaedias, as for example, *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, by Hastings (Muhammadanism), vol. viii; *Ency. Italiana*, (Agha Khan), I, 1923, 888; *Butiviti*, vi, 1930, 377; *Islamisti*, XIX, 1933, 633, etc., *Ency. Britannica*, and in Handbooks of the History of Religions."¹

Professor Strothmann (Hamburg) wrote² that the bibliography was complete and he added a few titles from a list by Prof. A. E. Schmidt (Tashkent) sent to *Der Islam*, which has not yet been printed. All of them are to be found in the list sent to me by Professor Semenov, selections from which are given above.

Professor Wensinck (Leiden) says³ "I cannot supply you with new data regarding this subject. I only venture to mention the general descriptions of Islam, in which the Ismā'īliya movement is made mention of, e.g. that by Professor Snouck Hurgronje in Ed. Lehrmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, vol. I, 640, esp. p. 609) and that by Prof. M. Guidi in *Storia della Religione* (Torino, 1935) II, esp. pp. 91-95."

Gratitude is due to these scholars for sending me these valuable suggestions and notes. It is unfortunate that except those in English, none of the above foreign works of reference is available to me in Bombay.

¹ His letter, 14th May 1935.

² His letter, 28th May 1935.

³ His letter, 7th October 1935.

Concluding these notes I should like to add the titles collected by me in respect of the year 1935.

FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Ismaili Law and its Founder. *Islamic Culture*, IX, 107-112.

———— Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography : 1920-34. *JBBRAS*, 59-65.

HAMDANI, DR. H. F. بحث تاريخي في رسائل اخوان الصفاء، عيسى البابي الحلبي، مصر ١٩٣٥/١٣٥٤. Pp. 32.

IVANOW, W. *Kalāmi Pīr*, a treatise on Ismaili doctrine, also (wrongly) called *Haft-Bābi Shāh Sayyid Nāsir*. Edited in the Persian Original and translated with an introduction. Pp. lxxviii, 146, ١١٧. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 5, Bombay.

NADVI, SYED ABU ZAFAR. The Origin of the Bohras. *Islamic Culture*, IX, 638-644.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Vol. II. (Part) II. Sûfism and Ethics, by A. J. ARBERRY, M.A., Assistant Librarian. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford University Press, 1936.

Several scholars have been commissioned by the trustees of the India Office Library to catalogue the collections of the Manuscripts which have so far not been catalogued. Each section was entrusted to a specialist, and that of Sufism was in charge of A. J. Arberry. A great proportion of these MSS was collected many years ago in Delhi. Every student interested in MSS who comes in touch with circles in India connected with Persian and Arabic studies often hears stories about the priceless volumes which have been looted from the palaces of the sultans luring the Mutiny, and then bought for a mere song by the British, and taken away to Europe. This is one of the many legends which grow luxuriantly not from facts but from the credulity of people. About 200 different Sufic works, catalogued in the present fascicle, give a good general idea about the character of the collection.

Those who expect to find here "priceless gems," carried away from India, will be sadly disappointed: the great majority of the volumes in the collection seem to be just of the same character as they are in all Indian libraries, chiefly consisting of fairly new copies, dating from the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, written in a mediocre hand, worm eaten, and not remarkable in any way; they are chiefly the works of well-known authors, such as Ghazali, Ibn 'Arabi, 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, Sha'rani, 'Ali Muttaqi, and a few other well-known Arab and Indian Sufic writers. There are many collections in India which can apparently boast of more rarities and important works.

Of all European collections this one bears the greatest resemblance to that in the Royal Library in Berlin, catalogued by Carl Ahlwardt. This is quite natural, because the Berlin collection so comes from India, where it was acquired by A. Sprenger,

approximately in the same localities. Therefore nearly every item is accompanied by a reference to the Berlin catalogue.

With regard to the technique of cataloguing, the work of Mr. Arberry seems excellent. It follows the wise and businesslike system of Ahlwardt who considered it his duty to give all essential information about the *works*, without trying to turn his catalogue into a collection of *biographies of the authors*, at the expense of the former. I would only add a few remarks concerning rather a dry and purely technical detail, *i.e.*, what may be called description of the MS as such. The cataloguer had to follow in this section the system, introduced by Rieu, of placing such details at the top of the note, even before the title of the MS, thereby giving it special importance, from a librarian's point of view. But, at the same time, these notes are not sufficiently detailed. Is it really sufficient, after more than a century of development of scientific cataloguing, to note that a certain MS is written in "small angular *naṣḥī*, with red rubrics?" Almost 98 per cent. of all MSS have red rubrics, and every Arabic handwriting may appear as angular. Moreover, these notes entirely omit to mention the kind of paper. All such details may be quite uninteresting to the great majority of the students referring to the catalogue. But they may be invaluable for purely library purposes, and for special study and classification of Manuscripts. Such indications, if detailed, help not only to trace different volumes belonging to one and the same set, and scattered in different libraries, but occasionally may give indications as to the origin, etc., of the work itself. Muhammadan handwritings, due to prevalence of different fashions, or "schools," are comparatively very easy to identify, with regard to the period and locality to which they belong.

With regard to the works described in the catalogue, it may be added that there is another copy of the *Tabwṣṣh sharḥi'l-ḥikam* (No. 1337) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. A Persian translation of No. 1355 (*ʿAynū'l-ʿilm*) is noted in my catalogue of the Government (or "Curzon") collection in the same library (No. 503). The *Bawāriqū'n-nūriyya* (No. 1391) seems to be a common work in India; there is another copy of it in the same collection. The last item in this fascicle, No. 1421, has nothing to do with Sufism. It is a most interesting, and (in

sectarian circles) well-known Ismaili work, by Qâḍî Nu'mân (d. 363/974), the *Kitābu'l-himma fī ādāb atbā'i'l-a'imma*; it gives an account of the principles and rules which the faithful have to follow when coming in contact with the Imams, *i.e.*, Fatimid caliphs (see No. 85 of my "Guide to Ismaili Literature"). Copies of it are very common in the private collections of the Bohoras, but the book is regarded as secret by them, and is never sold to outsiders. It would therefore be extremely interesting to find out how it came to Delhi, and found its way into a collection of purely orthodox books. The copy is incomplete,—there are three more chapters to follow:

ذكر النهي عن انكار افعال الائمة سلام الله عليهم و الامر بتلقيها
منهم بالقبول،

ذكر ما ينبغي لمن استرعى الامر رعايا الائمة من السيرة العادلة
بالعدل فمن ولوه من الامة،

ذكر ما ينبغي ان يستعمله الدعاة الى الائمة صلعم في دعائهم
اليهم،

The heading of the first chapter is abrupt; it should be:

ذكر ما ينبغي لاتباع الائمة من اعتقاد ولايتهم و التدوين
بامانتهم و طاعتهم،

W. IVANOW.

THE TUHFA I SAMI (section V) of Sam Mirza Safawi, edited in the original Persian, with an index, Persian and English prefaces, variants and notes, by MAWLAWI IQBAL HUSAIN, M.A., B.L. Published by the Patna University, Patna, 1934.

Manuscripts of Sam Mirza's anthology are extremely rare, and therefore are only accessible to few students. Every one interested in Persian literature would therefore welcome an addition of this work, about which the late Prof. E. G. Browne

was always so enthusiastic. But now that a considerable portion of the *Tuhfa* has been printed in Patna, it is rather difficult not to feel disappointed. Partly because the meagre biographical notes given by Sam Mirza were repeatedly quoted by the compilers of later anthologies of this type, and partly because in the course of time more information has been collected from other sources, yet at present it is not easy to realise the cause of Browne's great admiration.

It is decidedly a pity that the editor was in such a hurry to publish the fifth section only, before other parts, thus disintegrating the work which is not large by itself. Surely, nothing specially terrible would have happened if he had postponed the publication until he had had time to prepare the whole work. It is still more regrettable because this appears as a publication patronized by the University of Patna. It is quite natural for beginners to lack a sense of proportion; their ambitions often prompt them to mouth a bit which they are unable to swallow. Therefore Orientalistic literature produced by the younger generation of Indians, trained in European methods, abounds in grand undertakings which either are dropped at the start, or abandoned in the middle never to be brought to completion. Universities in India, whatever they are, should, after all, exercise some sort of guidance over their students, and it would only be proper that they would in every possible way discourage premature bursts of scholarship exhibited in piecemeal and unfinished works, and insist on the policy that only complete and mature works should be accepted for publication.

The book from the beginning to the end bears the stamp of haste which makes it raw. Surely, if the editor had bestirred himself with searching in historical works for information about Sam Mirza, he could have found much more than the well-known account which he took from Rieu and Browne. The haphazard notes on biographies of the poets mentioned in the text, and taken from well-known works, are scarcely an improvement. Either they should be given systematically, and be complete, or dropped altogether. As they stand they are of no use whatever to any serious student. The crude and elementary *fishrist* at the end is scarcely sufficient for serious work.

It would be well if the work was brought to completion, and the other parts printed. But it would be better to prepare the text without special haste. It always pays to be careful in proof-reading. There are here and there passages in the poetical quotations which seem to be meaningless, but it is difficult to suggest emendations without referring to the original MS. Such slips as the Indian bazar "*bādshāh*", or *Hidāyat* 'l-lāh, written with ordinary *t* (*tā'i qarash*), may be good in Urdu newspapers, but they are unbearable in the work whose author was a highly educated Persian prince.

W. I.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC, PERSIAN AND URDU MSS. IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY, by Khan Bahadur Professor SHAIKH 'ABDU'L-KADIR-E-SARFARĀZ, I.E.S. (Rtd.). Liii+432 pp. Bombay University, 1935.

The long-expected catalogue of the University Arabic and Persian MSS. has at last come, and we may say, with the Persians, دیر آید درست آید. The catalogue before us is a sound piece of work and the author has done well to follow closely in the footsteps of such a recognized master of the art as W. Ivanow. The author describes 176 volumes in 243 notices. The catalogue is fuller in many respects than existing models, and replete with scholarly information. It gives the impression of undue prolixity.

A number of MSS. are described with great fulness, e.g. *Haft Iqlīm* (p. 67); *Kulliyāti Ṣā'ib* (p. 124); *Dīwānī Zuhūrī* (p. 170); *Shāhnāma* (p. 299). In a few instances the learned author has thrown fresh light on the MSS. examined. For example, he attempts to prove by internal evidence that *Nāmai Khayālāt* (p. 33) cannot be ascribed to Amīr Khusraw, as it generally is. Many authorities believe that the *Dīwān* of Ibn Yāmīn is lost; Professor Shaikh has given us reasons to believe that a copy is extant in the Bombay University Collection (54). In regard to *Mazharu'l-'Ajā'ib* he accepts the view held by Professor Ḥāfiẓ Māhmūd Sherānī (Lahore) that the poem is a fraud, and cannot be the work of Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār. We have touched only a few of the interesting points; there are many others which will fully repay study. In some instances, like his treatment of Firdawsī's

Shāhnāma, the author has gone far beyond the usual scope of a catalogue and included much useful and up-to-date information.

In regard to transliteration the learned author has neither adopted the scheme of W. Ivanow in its entirety, nor of any recognized scholar, nor of any Oriental Society. Although transliteration is often a matter for individual taste, and a certain divergence from the norm may be permissible, we do not approve of the variations in Ivanow's system introduced here. In the first place, it seems quite unnecessary to transliterate the *kasra* of *idāfat* by *e*. Secondly, even ordinarily *e* and *i* are used quite arbitrarily for the vowel *kasra*. For example, Ṣā'ib and 'Adilshāh are spelt normally, and then we have, for no apparent reason, *She'ru'l-'Ajam*, *Khizāna-e-Āmera*, *Tuhfa-e-Naṣā'eh*, Sayyed, etc.

It must be remembered that no scheme of transliteration ever gives, or professes to give, a complete phonetic equivalent of one language into another. For that we have the International Phonetic Script. All that can usefully be done is *the systematic transposition of the letters of one alphabet into another*. The English letter *i* stands for *kasra*, however it may be pronounced; so does the symbol *ḍ* for ض. It would create altogether too many difficulties if dialectical and phonetic variations are to be considered in each instance. One symbol should therefore be used for a vowel or consonant. Besides, pronunciation differs from age to age, and even province to province. The modern Persian pronounces ق as غ; shall we therefore transliterate *khalgh* for خلق? The present-day Egyptian pronounces ج as ك; how then shall we transliterate the letter, by *j* or *g*? And how shall we differentiate between *yāyi ma'rūf* and *yāyi majhūl*? Shall we allow the Persians the right to pronounce their language as they please, or shall we teach them the correct pronunciation of their own tongue? The learned author has *Soz o Gudāz* (p. 206) and *afsos* (p. 213); which would probably be considered as barbarous Indianisms by the highbrow Persian.

For these reasons we would have preferred the learned Shaikh not to have made the variations he has thought fit to make in the standard scheme of transliteration adopted by Ivanow and some others.

The get-up of the volume is good ; but the type is too large and unsuitable. The paper is too thick and makes the volume very bulky.

Our gratitude is due to the author for his painstaking and scholarly work. We hope the University of Bombay will take up the question of enriching its meagre collection of Arabic and Persian MSS. in right earnest, and not allow it to remain at its present, very modest proportions.

A. A. A. F.

AN ARAB ACCOUNT OF INDIA IN THE 14TH CENTURY, being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā*. By OTTO SPIES (Aligarh). 78 pages, demi 8vo. Jamia Millia Press, Delhi, 1935.

DR. SPIES is doing the useful work of encouraging at Aligarh the study of Arabic geographical, historical and scientific works. Indian students generally restrict themselves to the study of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiqh* and *adab* ; thus a large part of the legacy of Islam remains to be studied by the European scholars. For example, the Arabian contributions to geography, the exact sciences, such as algebra, trigonometry, navigation and mathematics, medicine, pure philosophy and music are almost entirely neglected by us in India; while it is the West that studies these topics systematically and discloses to us the true glory of Islamic civilization. But for the work of de Goeje in geography, of Ruska and Holmyard in chemistry, of Schoy in mathematics, Ferrand in navigation—not to mention a host of others—what would we know of the contributions of Muslim scholars in these subjects ?

It is for this reason that we greatly welcome a work like that of Dr. Spies which throws considerable light on the India of the 14th Century, A.D. Dr. Spies begins with an introduction giving us information about the author and his work, showing that the *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā* is not so important as was once thought for the study of the early history of India, because al-Qalqashandī describes the India of Muḥammad Tughlaq, and merely follows, in most instances, the *Masāliku'l-Absār* of Ibn Faḍlū'l-lāh al-'Omārī.

The translation is entertaining and contains some delicious travellers' yarns. For instance, " the island of Zābaj " (pp. 43-44)

is described as being so high as to be visible from the mountains of the Yemen; in it there is a mountain wherein burns an everlasting fire, which can be seen from a great distance; there are big snakes in it which swallow up "men and buffaloes and elephants"—almost the rod of Moses, one presumes. This is only one illustration, instances of this kind could easily be multiplied.

We feel certain that a translation of this character would be of value for the study of the history of India in the Early Muslim period. The text of *Ṣubḥu'l-A'shā* is not available to me, but from what is known of the work of the learned translator, the translation would appear to be carefully prepared and reliable. The use of a few expressions however is questionable; "circum-jacent" (p. 15) is hardly necessary, "surrounding countries" is simpler and better; on p. 9 we have "His *informations*, therefore, are . . ."; "climate" (p. 19) has now come to acquire another sense, "clime" or "region" or "zone" would perhaps be better. These are not all, but on the whole the translation reads well.

We hope Dr. Spies will continue his work on the early Arab authors on India.

A. A. A. F.

THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM by SHIHĀBU'D-DĪN SUHRAWERDĪ MAQTŪL. Edited and translated by O. SPIES and S. K. KHATAK. Kitābistan, Allahabad, 1935. Rs. 6.

This volume consists of the text of three Persian *risālas* by Shihābu'd-dīn Suhrawerdī, the well-known Ṣūfī martyr, namely, *Lughati Mūrān*, *Ṣafiri Sīmurgh*, and *Risālatu't-Tair*. There is also a Persian commentary on the last named, and a biography of the author according to the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwāḥ* of Shahrazūrī. It appears that Professor Spies, in collaboration with Monsieur H. Cobbin, has planned a proper study of Suhrawerdī's works. Prof. Spies has already edited the *Mu'nīsu'l-Ushshāq*, and now gives us these three *risālas*. M. Cobbin is to edit *Pari Jibrīl*. We welcome these carefully edited and translated Persian texts on mysticism, as they throw considerable light on the philosophical thought of the 6th Century A. H.

A. A. A. F.

ARABŌN KĪ JAHĀZ-RĀNĪ (Arab Navigation) by SAIYID SULAIMĀN NADWĪ. (In Urdu). Islamic Research Association Series, No. 5. 199 pages, demi 8vo. Re. 1. Bombay, 1935. (Printed at the Ma'arif Press, Azamgadh, U. P.).

This is a collection of four lectures delivered in March, 1931, at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, at the invitation of the Department of Education, Government of Bombay, and contains valuable material for the first time presented to Indian readers on the subject of the contribution of the Arabs to the science of Navigation. The book contains linguistic and historical information and is written in a lucid style. Being the first book of its kind in Urdu, it is likely to be of great use to readers of that language.

A. A. A. F.

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, (Aligarh). Vol. II, No. 3. June, 1935.

The chief article in this number is "An Arab account of India in the 14th century," being the translation of an extract from The *Subḥu'l-A'shā* of al-Qalqashandī, which we have already reviewed. The number contains varied material, ranging from a comparison of Dryden with the Urdu poet Saudā, to subjects connected with the *I'jāzu'l-Qur'ān*. It is doubtful whether such a heterogeneous collection is of real value. The Editors would do well to follow some different line of selection of material.

A. A. A. F.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute: Vol. XVII Jain Literature and Philosophy; Part I (a) Āgamika Literature; pp. xxii+390. Part II (a) Āgamika Literature; pp. xxiii+363+24. Compiled by HIRALAL RASIKDAS KAPADIA, M.A. Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1935, 1936. Rs. 4 each part.

The long awaited Descriptive Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the Bombay Government deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, has at last made its appearance. In the general scheme of the Descriptive Catalogue of all the Mss. of the Government Library, Vol. XVII is assigned to Jain Literature and Philosophy

and is being compiled by Prof. H. R. Kapadia. Part one of this volume describes the Mss. of the 11 Aṅgas, the 12 Upāṅgas and the Prakīrṇakas of which 10 are considered as the principal ones, while the second part describes the Mss. of the 6 Cheda Sūtras and the 2 Cūlikā Sūtras, i.e., the Nandī and the Anuyogadvāra.

The catalogue is very well prepared. It however seems to attach too much importance to the description of even the unimportant details pertaining to the external form of the manuscript, whereas, information regarding the date of the work, its author and such other data as is useful for the historical reconstruction of Jain Literature, gathered from the contents of the Ms. is generally not given. The defect is however to a certain extent, made up by the copious references given under a separate heading at the end. In arranging for description the Mss. of one and the same work, the author does not seem to have followed any sound principle. The result is that (A) among the Mss. of one and the same Collection, those that bear a subsequent serial number are often described before others that have an earlier one. See for example, Part I, pp. 7 and 8 (No. 364 before No. 11 of 1880-81); Part I, pp. 34 and 36 (No. 145 before No. 144 of 1872-73); Part I, pp. 48 and 49 (No. 222 before No. 221 of 1873-74); Part I, pp. 116 and 117 (No. 193 before No. 192 of 1871-72) and so on. Nos. 152 and 153 of 1871-72 are unnecessarily separated on pp. 1 and 4 of the same Part. (B) The Mss. of the earlier Collections are described before those of the later ones, throughout the two parts without any purpose: thus No. 364 of 1880-81 is described before No. 80 of 1872-73 at Part I, pp. 7-8; see also pp. 9 and 11 (No. 2 of 1881-82 before No. 372 of 1879-80); pp. 12-15 (No. 621 of 1892-95 before No. 29 of 1866-68, No. 79 of 1872-73 and No. 1085 of 1887-91) and so on. (C) The vernacular commentaries on a Sūtra are described either before the Sanskrit and Prakrit ones or in the midst of them. See Part I, pp. 59-61 (vernacular com.) and pp. 57-58 and 62-67 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 135 (verna. com.) and pp. 136-138 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 161 (verna. com.) and pp. 162-166 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 185 (verna. com.) and pp. 186-190 (Sanskrit commentaries); Part I, pp. 275-278 and 280-281 (Sanskrit commentaries)

and between them p. 279 (vernacular com.); Part II, p. 42 (verna. com.) and pp. 43-58 (Prakrit and Sanskrit com.); Part II, pp. 90-180 (Sanskrit com.), then pp. 181-186 (verna. com.) and then pp. 187-199 (Sanskrit commentaries: the Mss. of the Sandehavi-
 ṣaudhji on pp. 90-94 and 187-189 are unnecessarily separated); Part II, pp. 230-245 and 248-254 (Sanskrit and Prakrit commen-
 taries) and between them pp. 246-247 (verna. com.); Part II, pp. 297 (verna. com.) and pp. 298-308 (Sk. and Pk. com.). (D) The Mss. of works based on the Sūtras are described in the midst of the Mss. of the Sūtras themselves rather than at the end; thus the Ṣaṭtriṃśikās based on the Bhagavatī Sūtra are described in the midst (pp. 92-110) of the Mss. of the Bhagavatī Sūtra (pp. 80-91 and 110-112); similarly the Mss. of the Bharatacaritra, which is a portion of the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti Sūtra, is described in the midst (pp. 231-232) of Mss. of the Sūtra itself (pp. 215-230 and 233-240); both these are from Part I. (E) One or two awkward references, which it is very difficult to trace, are made at Part I, p. 23 and Part II, pp. 103, 256; the references are to the original numbers in the Collections, whereas they should have been to the serial numbers given to the Mss. in the present catalogue or at least to its pages.

These are no doubt minor defects but they cause much annoyance to the reader and spoil the appearance of an otherwise good work. We are sure they will be avoided in the future parts of the Catalogue which are eagerly awaited.

H. D. V.

‘DIE LEHRE DER JAINAS NACH DEN ALTEN QUELLEN DARGESTELLT’
 by WALTHER SCHUBRING. Published in the Grundriss Der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Vol. III, Part VII. Berlin und Leipzig, 1935.

The efforts of Prof. W. Schubring in the field of Jain Research are too many and too well-known to be recounted here; but his latest contribution in this behalf, namely, Die Lehre Der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestellt is surely the best and the most useful one. In this learned book, he gives us a masterly exposition of the different topics connected with Jain Religion and Philosophy,

such as the nature and origin of the world with all its varied forms of life and matter, man's position in its midst, and the ways and means by which freedom from the bonds of the world is to be secured by him according to the teaching of the Jainas. The important peculiarity of this exposition is that it is supported at every step by references to the Jain Agamas. This makes the book invaluable and indispensable to students of Jainism at all times. The two chapters at the commencement, one on the history of Jain Research both in the East and in the West and another on the history of the origin and growth of Jainism, as also the Bibliographical survey given at the end have greatly added to the utility of the book.

The book is written in German and is for that reason not available to many, especially Indian, workers in the field of Jainism. We therefore earnestly request the author to consider seriously the question of publishing an English translation of this excellent book in the near future.

H. D. V.

ŚRĪMUKUNDAMĀLĀ (WITH TĀTPARYADĪPIKĀ OF RĀGHAVĀNANDA),
edited by K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A. and published in the
Annamalai University Sanskrit Series: No. I, Annamalaiagar,
1933. Pp. vii+68+xxiv. Price Rupees 3.

Mukundamālā is supposed to be the earliest religious lyric in Sanskrit composed towards the end of the 7th century A.D. It is often printed, but as the editor tells us, the text in no two editions agree(s) and 'the text in the present edition does not agree with the same in any edition so far issued'. It is however not the aim of the editor to attempt to arrive at the original text of this important poem by a comparison of the various forms of it preserved in the different recensions, but merely to present to the reader a text of the poem which he believes to be more authentic than any other, because it was accepted as authentic and commented upon by Rāghavānanda, the commentator of the 17th century.

The author of the poem is King Kulasekhara of Kerala, who lived in the 7th century according to the editor. The utility of

the edition is enhanced by the republication in the Appendix, of the editor's learned paper on Kulaśekharas of Kerala. This paper was first read before the VIth All-India Oriental Conference and published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Volume VII, p. 319. The three indexes given at the end are also useful.

H. D. V.

THE JOURNAL OF THE VEDIC STUDIES, edited by Prof. RAGHU VIRA and others and published by Messrs. MEHER CHAND LACHHAMAN DAS, Lahore; Vol. I. No. 1, January, 1934. Annual subscription Rs. 12 or 20/-s.

We heartily welcome this first number of the first volume of the Journal of the Vedic Studies. The Journal is intended for the publication of unknown and rare Vedic texts in critical editions and also of articles dealing with higher criticism, exegesis and comparative studies. It is edited by Prof. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph. D., &c., of Lahore, and A. C. Woolner, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University (since deceased), Prof F. Edgerton of the Yale University, Prof. A. B. Keith of the University of Edinburgh, Prof. Dr. H. Oertel of the University of Munich, and Dr. L. Renou of Paris.

The first number contains the texts of (1) the Gonāmika, a newly discovered Pariśiṣṭa of the Maitrāyaṇīya School, (2) the Drāhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra with the commentary of Dhanvin, Pāṭalas 11-15, and (3) the Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Praśnas 1-3, all critically edited by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira from a number of Mss. At the end are given diagrams of Vedic fire altars required for the Ubhayataḥ Prauga and the Prauga Citis by the editor. We wish all success to the editors and the publishers in this new enterprise of theirs.

H. D. V.

THE RAJA-DHARMA-KAUSTUBHA OF ANANTADEVA, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya KAMALAKRISHNA SMRITITIRTHA and published in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. Pp. xxvii+506. Rs. 10.

A melancholy interest attaches to the publication of this work on *rājadharmā* (king's duties and privileges). The editor, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha, suddenly

passed away while the work was in the press to the regret of all Sanskrit scholars. Fortunately the famous scholar left behind a learned and dutiful son, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., who as in the ancient days of Bāṇa and his son, carried out with great ability and filial duty the work left unfinished by his revered father. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya, who edited about a dozen works principally on Dharmaśāstra, was an erudite scholar and combined in himself the best in the methods of the East and the West. The text is beautifully printed and Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya has added a useful introduction giving the personal history of the author Anantadeva (who belonged to the latter half of the 17th century) and a synopsis of the work. The original work is divided into four sections called *dīdhitis* (on *pratiṣṭhā vāstukarma*, *rājyābhiṣeka* and *prajāpālana*). We commend the work to all who are interested in the study of mediæval dharmaśāstra.

P. V. K.

THE BRĤATI OF PRABHĀKARAMIŚRA WITH THE RĤJUVIMALĀPAÑCIKA OF ŚĀLIKANĀTHA, edited by Prof. S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI and published by the University of Madras, 1934. Pp. 424. Rs. 5.

This is a unique publication and the learned editor and the Madras University have laid under a deep debt all Sanskrit scholars, particularly those interested in the study of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system. The Br̥hati, the commentary of Prabhākara on the Bhāṣya of Śābara, was known from quotations and references but no edition had so far been published. The present volume contains the Br̥hati on the Tarkapāda (i.e., Jaimini I-1). In spite of the fact that the text presented here is based on a single Ms. of the Br̥hati, the text is readable enough, thanks to the herculean efforts of the editor. The usefulness of the edition is enhanced by the addition of an index of quotations most of which are traced to their sources. We may point out that the quotation 'sa sādhubhir-bahiṣkāryaḥ' on p. 284 (which is left unidentified) is Manusmṛti II.11 (latter half). All scholars will anxiously await the publication of further instalments of the Br̥hati.

P. V. K.

THE PADYĀVALI OF RUPAGOSVĀMIN, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. K. DE, published by the University of Dacca. Pp. cxliv (Introduction) +1—178 (text) and 181-296 (notes and appendices).

Prof. De must be congratulated on the thorough way in which this work has been edited. The present edition is based on sixteen Mss. and two printed editions. This work is an anthology, but derives additional interest from the fact that its author was a famous disciple of Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaishnavism. The exhaustive introduction gives an account of the origin and development of the Vaisṇava movement under Caitanya and the part played by Rūpagosvāmin in it, and the important doctrines of Bengal Vaishnavism.

The text has been very carefully edited and in the footnotes important readings have been noted. The verses of the Padyāvali are selected and arranged so as to illustrate the general features of Bhakti as a *rasa*.

The notes at the end give information about the authors quoted in the Padyāvali. There are indices, at the end of the verses, of the authors and of metres. Altogether this is a very scholarly edition and reflects great credit on the author and the Dacca University.

P. V. K.

THE UPANIṢADS, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SRI UPANISHAD-BRAHMA-YOGIN, edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library under the superintendence of Prof. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., PH.D. Vol. I. Pp. 485.

This volume contains eight out of the ten principal Upaniṣads (i.e., excluding the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads). The text and the commentary are beautifully printed and the general get-up is excellent. There is a Sanskrit index of names, and another of important words. For understanding the Advaitic interpretation of the Upaniṣads the commentary is very helpful and is written in a lucid though concise manner. This volume may be easily recommended to the general reader as a handy one for the study of the Upaniṣads.

P. V. K.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY.
 Edited by J. DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY. Pp. xviii + 503.
 London, Oxford University Press, 1933. 50/-

In this scholarly volume, which no single reviewer can hope adequately to review, homage is offered by the world of scholarship to a great Parsee scholar, Dastur Cursetji Erachji Pavry, on his 70th Birthday. His son, also a distinguished savant and traveller, has with filial reverence, sponsored the volume and edited it. We cannot do better than mention some of the illustrious names, with the subjects of their papers. There is a biographical sketch by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. W. Barthold writes on *Der iranische Buddhismus und sein verhältnis zum Islām*; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, on *Urvan and the Devadūta Sutta*; A. V. Williams Jackson, on a Manichaean fragment; A. Berriedale Keith, on the home of the Indo-Europeans; D. S. Margoliouth, on the poems of Mihyar the Dailemite; E. J. Thomas, on Recent theories of non-Iranian elements in ancient Persian; Sten Konow, on the Sakas and Zoroastrianism; Hanns Oertel, on the background of the Pantheistic Monism of the Upanishads. There are about sixty more articles from other Oriental scholars, specially written for this learned volume.

MEDIAEVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By
 RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, F.A.S.B. With an Introduction by
 R. L. HOBSON, C.B. Published by Kegan Paul Trench
 Trubner & Co., London. Pp. xiv + 77 + 24 plates. 10/6.

This book, to begin with, is a very competent guide to the British Museum, for those interested in Mediæval Indian Sculpture. And as such, it fills a long-felt want. For, the subjects depicted in the Sculptures are so complex that without such instruction as is herein afforded, it is hardly possible for the layman to grasp the meaning the artist wants to convey; and in consequence he is liable to be robbed of a part of his pleasure by sheer bewilderment.

But the book is something more as well. Mr. Chanda offers guidance not only to the æsthetic and symbolic aspects of the representative specimens, but he does so in relation to the genre and the period to which they belong. He brings to the taste a

wide knowledge and experience, and even to the general reader the book should provide useful introduction to the subject.

EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES—a Selection. Translated and edited by EDWARD J. THOMAS, M.A., D.LITT., and published by Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1935. Pp. xxv+232. 10/6.

This volume contains translations of selected Suttas from Buddhist literature, both the Mahāyāna and the Hināyāna. The selection is made 'with the intention of presenting the main doctrines as impartially as possible, as they were understood by the compilers of the Canon.' The selection has been judiciously made and is sure to give the reader a fairly correct idea of the Master's life, His teachings and the Brotherhood that he started and organised. It also shows that all the scriptures contain some common fundamental doctrines of Buddhism in spite of the further developments of different schools. The topics illustrated in the book are:—
1) Biographical, (2) The Disciples' career, (3) Nirvāṇai, (4) Special doctrines, (5) Buddhology, (6) Discourses to laymen, (7) Other schools, (8) The monastic organisation. The translation reads natural. At a time, when interest in Buddhism is increasing, such informative works written in a spirit of critical inquiry, are welcome.

N. K. B.

BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by ARTHUR C. MARCH, and published by the Buddhist Lodge, London, 1935. Pp. 257. 21/.

The author has done a useful service to Students of Buddhism by bringing out this handy volume of Bibliography.

The book is divided into 2 parts. The first is an Author-index (or rather 2 Author indexes) and the second consists of an analytical Subject Index. The author proposes to issue in the month of May each year, supplements, indexing new works published during the year, as well as those that may have been omitted from the present work.

We congratulate the Buddhist Lodge for publishing a much-needed bibliography.

N. K. B.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D., Madras University Historical Series No. 11. University of Madras. 1935. 6"×9". Pp. xxxvii+527. Price Rs. 5/- or 7sh. 6d. Stiff bound cover.

The work under review shows a marked improvement upon Dr. Ramanayya's earlier attempts at studying the history of Vijayanagara which we have reviewed elsewhere (*Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* III and *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 1936). The author has presented to us in this work an attractive picture of the thirteen years of complicated history (A.D. 1530—A.D. 1543) of the reign of the Emperor Acyuta Deva Rāya and some details concerning the great Regent Aḷiya Rāma Rāja. He has shown a better grasp of the situation in this work than in his previous books, especially in the comparative study he has made of the indigenous and foreign accounts (Intr. pp. xvii, xxxi) and in the able manner in which he has enlivened his narrative with details concerning the *veli-gudāra*, etc. (p. 133).

We wish we had stopped here; but it is our misfortune that we have to proceed further—in the cause of historical accuracy. Of the three parts into which the book is divided, *viz.*, the history of Vijayanagara from A.D. 1530 till A.D. 1543, pp. 3-93; Administrative Institutions, pp. 93-315; and Religious and Social Conditions, pp. 315-447, the first one dealing with political history fails to make any impression on serious students of Vijayanagara history. The reasons are obvious. The two great hinges on which Dr. Ramanayya's work rests are Nuniz and the *Local Records*. He rightly rejects many of the statements of Firishtah as unreliable (p. xxx), but places too much reliance on Fernão Nuniz whom he calls "thoroughly trustworthy" (p. xxv), and whose account he styles as "the most valuable" (p. xxv). This has naturally led the author to square the known facts of history with the statements of Nuniz. (On the unreliability of Nuniz as an eye-witness, read Saletore, *Indian Antiquary*, XLV 1932, pp. 2-3). The result is disastrous.

Dr. Ramanayya believes in the fiction of the foundation of the city in A.D. 1336, as given by Nuniz (and others too, we may as well say!) (p. xxviii). Nuniz's "testimony" leads the author to

reject the hitherto accepted facts relating to Vīra Narasimaha Śellappa's rebellion against Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (p. 25), and thereby to bring forward a few theories concerning that rebel (pp. 22-7) which leave the matter more complicated than ever! Even if we agree with the author that Nuniz is a reliable foreign witness, yet on the strength of Dr. Ramanayya's own statements that Portuguese traveller ceases to command our attention. For, while making a comparative study of the indigenous authorities (the *Rāyavācakamu* by an anonymous *sthānāpati* [priest] of Viśvanātha Nāyanayya, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's *Āmuktamalyadā*, and Tirumalācārya's *Nītiśaśapadya sūtaka* which, it must be remembered, are eulogistic and theoretical accounts) and of the narrative of Nuniz, in regard to the severe discipline which the Emperor subjected himself to, (pp. 101-102), the reader will see easily that in no item is there any unanimity of opinion between the foreign traveller and the Hindu authors! Even the quotation from Nuniz on p. 103, n. seems to violate the few facts we know of the great Brahman generals like Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya and others, about whom it cannot certainly be said, as Nuniz declares of all Brahmans, that they were "well formed but little fit for hard work." Dr. Ramanayya forgets, while delineating the alleged conquest of Quilon by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (p. 28) that Nuniz places Catuir on the Coromandel coast (Sewell, *Forg. Emp.* p. 321). Why the author has failed to refer to Nuniz's graphic account of Emperor Acyuta's misrule (e.g., pp. 242-3), one does not know.

It is not so much this partiality to Nuniz that is deplorable, but the manner in which the author cuts the facts of history to suit his dimensions. (The opening quotation from Sewell, p. 3, is wrong. Cf. Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 366-7). Dr. Ramanayya discusses the question of the successor of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (about the date of whose death, by-the-bye, the author is uncertain: it is placed between May and October A.D. 1529 on p. 3, and later on in A.D. 1529-1530, pp. 23-25), and utilizes the evidence of a stone inscription to prove his assertions (pp. 4-14).

Dr. Ramanayya writes thus—"According to an inscription of Tirumaladeva, son of Kṛṣṇarāya, dated Śaka 1446... a certain Konappa Nāyaka is said to have administered *gangōdaka* to Kṛṣṇarāya" (p. 3). The reference given is wrong, the translation

erroneous, and the sense absurd. There is no *Mi.* in *E.C.* IX. but only *Mā* (gaḍi). (On the same page, para 1st, the author refers to *E.C.* the volume number of which is not given. It should be *E.C.X.*, and *Sd.* should be *Sg.*). The inscription relates the following—that in the time of Tirumala Deva, son of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Konappa Nāyaka, who was the *bearer* of the Ganges water to Kṛṣṇ Deva Rāya (*Kṛṣṇadeva mahārāyarige Gangōdaka sevitar appa*, *E. C.* IX. Mg. 82, text, p. 132), made a specified grant that *dharma* might be to Tirumalarāya and to Timmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. There is nothing in this record to prove that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was dead, that Konappa administered the *Gangōdaka* to him, and that Tirumala Deva died in A.D. 1524, as the author imagines on p. 5. The author's failure to understand the significance of this record is responsible for his statement that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya set aside the claims of his young son (p. 13), and the consequent unintelligible assertions on p. 14.

Turning to the other main source for the narrative of Dr. Ramaṇayya, we come to the *Local Records* and the *Mackenzie Collections*. Between the years A.D. 1796 and A.D. 1806, Captain Colin Mackenzie was deputed to collect all notices of inscriptions, oral and written tradition, etc., in fact all kinds of historical and legendary notices available in the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions. The result of this admirable survey was embodied in the *Mackenzie Collections* and later on in the *Local Records* by Mr. C. P. Brown, who had them corrected and retranscribed. These accounts were written in the last years of the eighteenth and in the early years of the nineteenth century A.D., and the persons who were entrusted with the work of collecting information, especially that relating to what Dr. Ramaṇayya calls "inscriptions," were merely petty hired-officials who can in no sense be compared to the trained men we are now having in the Government Archæological Department. All that they did was to give most often eye-copies of the inscriptions. To rely on them, as Dr. Ramaṇayya does (p. xxxv), and to assert that the Mss. mentioned in the *Local Records* and in the *Mackenzie Collections* give us an adequate idea of the conditions in the Vijayanagara Empire (as the author does with the *Aṭṭhavana Tantra*) is to underestimate the value of contemporary records and to lessen the worth of

one's own work in the eyes of scholars. Only one instance is enough to prove that what is mentioned in the *Local Records* is by no means accurate. The *Local Records* maintain that Malla Rāja was the son of Depaṇṇa of Ummattūr (p. 40). But contemporary Ummattūr inscriptions tell us that Depaṇṇa had two sons—Immaḍi Depaṇṇa and Cikka Rāja Oḍeyar. (*E.C.* IV. p. 27). In the discussion of this question of the conquest of Ummattūr Dr. Ramaṇayya has got himself lost (pp. 34 seq.). The remarks on village organization (p. 161 seq.), police system (p. 253 seq.), and quite a number of details pertaining to administration and social institutions are based on the *Local Records* and the *Mackenzie Collections*, although, it must be admitted, the author has made use occasionally of Telugu literature.

Equally serious objection may be raised against the author's method of asserting facts and statements. How the author failed to acknowledge Sewell's identification of the son of Emperor Acyuta (*Forg. Emp.* p. 11) in his remarks on the same point (p. 11), cannot be understood. It is doubtful whether Acyuta Deva Rāya was the first to celebrate his coronation outside the Empire (p. 13), for, as the late Mr. B. Venkoba Rao rightly pointed out, Śāluva Nṛsiṃha seems to have done the same. (Intr. to Somanatha's *Vyāsayogicaritam*, p. cxvi.) Dr. Ramaṇayya makes Śāluva Narasiṅga Rāya patron and friend of Acyuta Deva Rāya (p. ibid) but, according to Dīṇḍima, it was Narasa Nāyaka who performed the coronation of that ruler (*The Sources*, p. 161). Nuniz does not say, as the author asserts (p. 26) that Salvanayque was the prime minister at the commencement of Acyuta Deva Rāya's reign. (Sewell, *op. cit.* p. 384.) Timmappayya was not the lord of Acyuta Deva Rāya's treasury (p. 110) but merely his treasury officer (*bhaṇḍārakke karttarāda*) (*E. C.* IX. Cp. 152, p. 164).

Dr. Ramaṇayya has misunderstood the term *dharmadā-pārupatyagāra* (ibid p.) It is not in "the capacity of *dharmadā-pārupatyagāra*" that Aliya Rāma Rāja commanded a copy of a *dāna-śāsana* to be re-examined, but it was Sadāśiva Rāya who had it re-examined and granted. It had been given in the days of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and set up in stone in the *dharmadā pārupatya* (regime of righteousness) of Aliya Rāma Rāja. (*E. C.* XI. Mk. 1, p. 90). *Sunkadavarū* has never meant tax-farmers and their representatives

(p. 112) but only customs officials. Inscriptions gives us not only two kinds of *kodage* grants (p. 184) but seven (Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, II. p. 253). In the division of the Vijayanagara army only cavalry, infantry, and elephants are mentioned (pp. 124 seq.), but nothing about the other three indispensable parts—camels, bulls, and artillery—is given by the author. We do not know how the statements in regard to the rulers of Gerasoppe and Kārkaḷa (p. 143) came to be written, for they have no basis in history. It is wrong to maintain that Vijayanagara rulers evolved the administrative system of the Karnāṭaka and the Telugu lands (p. 144). Provincial viceroys were never styled *Durgadaṇṇāyakas* (p. 151). This term was applied in rare instances perhaps to the commandants of hill forts. The term *cāvaḍi* has never meant an office (p. 155) but the outer part of the hall where the court was held. The village assemblies did not disappear by the end of the fourteenth century A. D. (p. 159), but continued to exercise their beneficial influence down till the last days of the Vijayanagara Empire. The author's remarks concerning private ownership of land (p. 167) strictly concern corporate existence and not the point at issue. *Gaṇācāra* was not a tax paid to the Jaṅgamas by the Śaivas (p. 232), but a tax on the Jaṅgamas themselves (*E. C.* IV. Gu. 67, p. 47). It was not the board of trustees that was known as Sthānikas (p. 330), but the priests called the Sthānikas themselves who constituted boards of trustees in temples.

But we must stop here in order to point out some minor points. The Marāṭha scribes had already murdered the word Rākṣa-Taṅgaḍi into Rakkas-Tagdi, but Dr. Ramanayya goes further and gives us Rakṣasi-Tangiḍi (p. xxv). How the king of Orissa could have entered Kannaḍa (which is, by-the-bye, the name of the language, Karnāṭaka, of the land, and Kannadiga, of the people) like a dog, (p. 17), is a mystery! A wrong reference to Caitanya is given on p. 97, for *E. C.* IX. Cp. 1 of A. D. 1533 makes no mention of Caitanya at all. (Does the author mean Cp. 153 which refers to Brahmanya Tirtha's disciple Vyāsarāya? Text, pp. 399-400). All quotations from Sewell (pp. 3, 10) and Briggs (pp. 18, 20) need checking.

Notwithstanding these and other demerits this work of the talented Telugu scholar, we acknowledge with pleasure, is a welcome

addition to the steadily growing literature on that most magnificent of our Hindu institutions—the Empire of Vijayanagara. The author writes in his preface—"The solutions offered to the problems discussed in this volume are very tentative in character, and may have to be modified in the light of future research." (p. v), And, may we add, in the light also of past investigations?

B. A. SALETORE.

ANCIENT INDIA AND INDIAN CIVILIZATION, by P. MASSON-OURSSEL, H. DE WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA and P. STERN. (Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co.) 1934. Pp. xxiv+435. 21/.

This book forms one of the History of Civilisation Series, and lives up to the high standard of scholarship set by its predecessors in that series. It is mainly the work of M. Masson-Oursel, and his two collaborators have contributed that part of it which deals with the æsthetic life of the period; and it possesses a synthetic unity, the collaborators having apparently worked upon an agreed plan. It is singularly free from the tendency to facile generalisation which is not uncommon in works dealing with ancient India. Indeed, M. Masson-Oursel is keenly aware of the vast diversity of his subject and of the manifold difficulties of the task of encompassing it, and warns the reader against 'over-simplified conceptions of India'; though, owing to the limitations of space, and the summary nature of the work, he himself is obliged to present facts, problems and the many factors which go to make up the ancient Indian civilisation as being much simpler than they actually are.

A brief survey of the physical aspects of the country, and of the population is followed by a summary of its history from remote antiquity to the death of Harsha. This again is succeeded by description of the social and political life of the period, scholarly, cautious, and thought-provoking. The largest section of the work is that dealing with the religions and philosophies, through the evolution of which the author discerns the principle of unity which is 'the special genius of India.' It is an instructive and informative study, at once rich, critical and clear, and emphasises the difference between the Indian and the Western method of approach to the problems of life and beyond.

The section on literature is contributed by Mme. Willman-Grabowska ; it is scholarly, and also makes very delightful reading, containing as it does summaries of the plots of some of the most important works. M. Stern who contributes the chapters on the art of the period is more concerned with the principles underlying it, and their evolution, than with a description of their several examples.

Altogether the book presents a complete and accurate picture of the history and civilisation of the Indian of the pre-Muslim period and must serve as an excellent introduction to the vast subject.

B. G. M.

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AN UP-TO-DATE CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

All Indologists are familiar with Dr. Aufrecht's 'Catalogus Catalogorum' which is indispensable for research. Since its completion in 1903, many more important collections of Sanskrit manuscripts have been catalogued giving reliable information regarding some thousands of manuscripts. Highly valuable as are the materials contained in Dr. Aufrecht's great work, it has, however, now become incomplete. The need for supplementing Dr. Aufrecht's work was recently brought to the notice of the Madras University, which has decided to undertake the publication of an *up-to-date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, utilising the invaluable work by Dr. Aufrecht as the basis. The main lines on which this work is proposed to be carried on are indicated below :—

1. Checking of the entries in the Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht.
2. Introduction of fresh entries in the case of important manuscripts.
3. Dealing with the additional Manuscript Collections.
4. Entering the dates of works and authors, as far as possible.
5. Incorporation of works known through citations alone.

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1. Places where manuscripts are available, with particulars regarding owners and authors.
2. Lists of manuscripts.
3. Other suggestions for the preparation of the proposed new Catalogus Catalogorum.

Communications may be addressed to “The Editor-in-Chief, Catalogus Catalogorum, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Museum Buildings, Egmore, Madras.”

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	औ au	ठ <i>ṭh</i>	भ <i>bh</i>
आ ā	क k	ड ḍ	म m
इ i	ख <i>kh</i>	ढ <i>ḍh</i>	य y
ई ī	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
उ u	घ <i>gh</i>	त t	ल l
ऊ ū	ङ ṅ	थ <i>th</i>	व v
ऋ ṛ	च c	द d	श ś
ॠ ṝ	छ <i>ch</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	ष ṣ
ऌ ḷ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ <i>jh</i>	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ <i>ph</i>	ळ ḷ
ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b	

◌ (Anusvāra) ṁ	× (Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
◌ (Anunāsika) ṁ̃	≡ (Upadhmānīya) ḥ̃
◌ (Visarga) ḥ	ऽ (Avagraha) ' ,

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC.

..... a	ز z	ق q	— i or e
. b	س s	ك k	— ' u or o
..... t	ش <u>sh</u>	ل l	ا— ā
..... <u>th</u>	ص ṣ	م m	ي— ī
..... j	ض ḍ	ن n	و— ū, o
..... h	ط ṭ	و w	ي— ai
..... <u>kh</u>	ظ ḏ	ه h	و— au
..... d	ع ʿ	ي y	silent t . . . h
..... <u>dh</u>	غ <u>gh</u>	ذ ḏ	
..... r	ف f	— a	

PERSIAN.

..... p	چ <u>ch</u>	ژ <u>zh</u>	گ g
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